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Shultz Calls 50% Reduction 'Priority Task'

LD312034 Moscow TASS in English 2026 GMT 31 Jan 88

[Text] Washington January 31 TASS—TASS Correspondent Andrey Fedyashin reports:

The U.S. Administration's main tasks in arms control and negotiations with the USSR on these problems have been set out by U.S. Secretary of State George Shultz in an interview to the ABC television programme today.

He said that among the priority tasks in the negotiations mention should be made, in the first place, of the task of attaining an accord between the USA and the USSR on a 50 per cent reduction in strategic armaments. Second, it is necessary, George Shultz underlined, to elaborate a mandate for holding the so-called negotiations on a disbalance in conventional armaments. And, third, he said, the United States is striving, to elaborate, if possible, a world-wide ban on chemical armaments.

Answering a question linked with attaining a triple zero in Europe, ridding the continent of nuclear weapons, George Shultz said that the United States did not intend to agree to that. This is not priority amid the questions that can now be directly negotiated.

Kashlev, Tatarnikov Hold Vienna News Conference

LD310222 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 1925 GMT 30 Jan

[Text] Vienna January 30 TASS—The head of the Soviet delegation to the European meeting in Vienna, Ambassador Yuriy Kashlev, and delegation member Major-General Viktor Tatarnikov gave a news conference at the meeting's press centre on Friday.

They drew the attention of local and foreign newsmen to military aspects of the Helsinki process.

"The results of the Summit meeting in Washington between Mikhail Gorbachev, CPSU Central Committee general secretary, and U.S. President Ronald Reagan is also of prime importance for Europe," Kashlev said.

"The Treaty on the Elimination of Intermediate- and Shorter-Range Missiles no doubt will strengthen European security. One cannot but be alerted, however, by the fact that certain quarters in the West call for compensation of this kind of missiles and demand the rearmament, modernization and buildup of conventional weapons, especially high-accuracy ones which approach weapons of mass annihilation by their destructive effect, and of tactical nuclear weapons".

Thus, General Galvin, supreme commander of the joint Armed Forces in Europe, stated recently that the United States of America ought to develop [sozdat] a new nuclear arsenal of short-range weapons for Europe, to restore to NATO the firepower which will be lost in accordance with the treaty eliminating intermediate- and shorter-range missiles. Such statements cannot be assessed as anything other than a summons to tightening a new spiral in the arms race.

Attention was drawn during the news conference to the proposal put forward by M. Gorbachev, CPSU Central Committee general secretary, during his stay in Murmansk last October, on limiting naval activities in the seas adjacent to Northern Europe. M. Gorbachev proposed that such measures could also include a treaty on limiting rivalry in antisubmarine weapons, notification of major naval and air forces, and invitation of observers from all member states of the European process to major naval and air force exercises.

The head of the Soviet delegation said that the Soviet Union "is ready to come to agreement to restrict the number of major naval and air force exercises in sea areas to one in two years, to create in the northern and western Atlantic for the Soviet Union and the United States agreed-upon areas in which activities of antisubmarine forces would be banned, not to hold naval exercises in the areas of sea trade routes and intensive fishing, and not to allow concentration of naval forces in international straits and at approaches to them".

"The Soviet Union is expressing readiness, in the spirit of goodwill, to invite unilaterally observers from Nordic countries to a Soviet naval exercise in 1988", he said.

Journalists at the news conference were reminded of the fact that the territories of about half of states participating in the Conference on Security and Cooperation in Europe are adjacent to the water area in question. But the NATO countries, far from tackling these pressing issues of European security, do not even wish to discuss them. Taking into account this problem, the Soviet delegation proposed that the question on organizing and cutting the scale of naval activities in this area should be made a subject for negotiations at the second stage of the conference on confidence-building measures, security and disarmament in Europe.

Asked by a journalist about the Mediterranean, Yuriy Kashlev said that the USSR had put forth a proposal on turning it into a zone of a lasting peace, good-neighborly relations and cooperation, on spreading to it measures of confidence and security and on withdrawal, on a mutual basis, of Soviet and U.S. nuclear-capable ships from the region.

In 1986 the idea was put forward of convening a conference on the Mediterranean, similar to the Conference on Security and Cooperation in Europe. All these proposals remain in force, and they must be individually examined and practical accords must be reached. However, here too the Soviet Union and the socialist countries come up against the unwillingness of the NATO countries to discuss seriously the problems which arise.

Much interest was displayed in the state of affairs at the consultations of 23 countries of the Warsaw Treaty organization and NATO, now under way in Vienna, to draft a mandate for negotiations on cutting armed forces and conventional armaments in Europe.

Replying to a journalist's question, Major General Tatarnikov noted that strengthening of stability and security in all Europe should be the main goals of the coming negotiations. This should be done by mutual and substantial cuts in armed forces and armaments, including means of dual designation, by elimination of the two sides' potentials for striking a surprise attack. The Soviet side believes the basis for such potentials is made up not only of tanks but above all of tactical nuclear weapons and strike tactical aviation, pointed out V. Tatarinikov.

It is these forms of weapons which are the most destabilizing in Europe. It would be possible to start simultaneously eliminating the imbalances in the sides' tanks and tactical strike aviation. The next step would be mutual reduction of armed forces and armaments, first of all the most dangerous offensive types of weapons, up to agreed levels. Speaking at his news conference in Washington, M. Gorbachev particularly stressed the fact that negotiations are meaningful if what is to be discussed is mutual and simultaneous reduction and removal of imbalances and asymmetries, if the sides are left with the forces and means necessary for defense, but insufficient for conducting offensive operations.

The Soviet Government favors reduction and even better favors elimination of tactical nuclear weapons, coupled with reduction in conventional arms. In this context news conference participants called journalists' attention to a statement made by USSR Foreign Minister Eduard Shevardnadze during his visit to the FRG. He said that the solution of this question was possible only with the participation of other nuclear powers.

It is proposed without delay to adopt at athe Vienna meeting a mandate on the basis of which negotiations would be started on conventional weapons, including the so-called dual-purpose systems, under the understanding that issues relating to the nuclear component of such systems would be discussed separately.

Now, when the new compromise proposal has been put forward, the Soviet delegation will, of course, be attentively looking to see Western reaction. This will show whether the readiness to find a solution to the most complex question of a mandate for future negotiations will predominate, or whether things will alide along the well-worn rut of avoiding the joint search for a mutually acceptable accord, and in the final analysis, of avoiding starting practical negotiations, Yu. Kashlev said.

Further on Specialists' Test Site Visit

LD311332 Moscow TASS in English 1310 GMT 31 Jan 88

[Text] Las Vegas, Nevada, January 31 TASS—TASS special correspondent Vladislav Orlov reports:

The group of Soviet specialists ended their familiarization trip to the U.S. nuclear test range in the Nevada desert. It followed the similar visit of 20 U.S. experts to the Soviet test site in the area of Semipalatinsk.

The purpose of both trips was to prepare the practical ground for carrying out a joint experiment to monitor the yield of nuclear tests, of which the USSR and the United States agreed in Geneva during the first round of full-scale negotiations on limiting and ultimately halting nuclear tests.

A joint statement for the press adopted upon the results of the exchange of the visits says that the planned experiment will aim at providing the sides an opportunity to agree on the improved verification methods necessary for the ratification of the Soviet-U.S. Treaty on the Limitation on Underground Nuclear Weapon Tests (Threshold Test Ban Treaty) of 1974 and the Treaty on Underground Nuclear Explosions for Peaceful Purposes of 1976, which could likewise be used, to the extent to which they are applied, in future agreements on further curbs on nuclear tests.

"The ratification of the treaties is an important and necessary stage in the process launched," I.M. Palenykh, head of the Soviet delegation at the Geneva full-scale negotiations on nuclear tests, explained at a press conference in Las Vegas. "But we should not stop at it. We should go further along the road of putting ceilings on nuclear tests both in terms of number and yield and ultimately press for their total halt and ban.

"It is not easy to accomplish this task. But it is exactly this goal that the Soviet Union constantly sees before itself." Robert Barker, U.S. chief negotiator at the full-scale talks on nuclear tests, added that the swap of the visits of experts was undoubtedly a definite step towards this ultimate goal, but it would still take a good deal of efforts to come to it.

The U.S. anti-war movement also persistently calls for a total and universal ban of nuclear weapon tests. This idea enjoys wide support of the country's public, which is borne out, in part, by the close attention paid to the visit of Soviet specialists by the U.S. news media. Underscoring the importance of the dialogue launched, local newspapers described mutual trips to the two countries' test ranges as a historic event.

The "American Peace Test", a well-known public organisation headquartered in Las Vegas, spoke highly on the consultations conducted. Stephanie Frazer, a representative of this organisation, said in a TASS interview that such contacts bettered the general atmosphere of relations between the two countries, banished suspicion and enhanced confidence between them. The mutual visits to the test ranges, the work of Soviet and U.S. experts inspire hope for a complete termination of nuclear tests in the future, for which the Americans committed to peace have been pressing for a long time, she said.

The heads of the two delegations stressed at the press conference that the mutual familiarization visits to test sites had improved to a considerable degree the understanding by either side of practical problems related to the upcoming joint experiment on verification. As they put it, the visits were held in the atmosphere of constructive cooperation, which was instrumental to coming to grips with the tasks set.

Test Yield Control Agreement

LD311633 Moscow World Service in English 1600 GMT 31 Jan 88

[Excerpt] The USSR and the United States have agreed to stage a joint experiment in the area of nuclear test yield control. The head of the delegation of Soviet experts just back from a trip to the nuclear testing site in Nevada, Igor Palenykh, says American experts will be invited within the next 6 months to visit the Soviet nuclear testing grounds to watch testing. The United States, in its turn, will offer this country a similar opportunity, too. [passage omitted]

News Conference on Testing

LD312224 Moscow Television Service in Russian 1800 GMT 31 Jan 88

[From the "Vremya" newscast]

[Text] The trip by a group of Soviet specialists to the U.S.nuclear test site in the Nevada desert ended today. May I remind you that the visit took place a week after a similar visit by U.S. experts to our test site in the Semipalatinsk region. A news conference took place literally a few hours ago in Las Vegas, and we already have a report on this event. It was sent by our special correspondent, Vladimir Zvyagin:

[Begin recording] [Zvyagin] The upcoming experiment, about which both the Soviet and the U.S. participants spoke in terms of a real event, will give the sides the opportunity to come to an agreement on improved verification [kontrol] measures which are needed for the ratification of the Soviet-U.S. treaty of 1974 on limitations on limiting underground nuclear weapons tests and the 1976 treaty on underground nuclear explosions for peaceful purposes.

[Palenykh] Our task is to find the best combination of verification [kontrol] measures which (?would be) employed under the 1974 and 1976 treaties. And that is what we are working on.

[video shows Robert Barker speaking, identified by nameplate] [Zvyagin, translating Barkers statement] The experiment on monitoring [kontrol] nuclear explosions envisions the staging of at least one test in the United States and one in the Soviet Union. It is expected to use a charge as close as possible to the threshold. As far as dates are concerned, we have received instructions from our governments to hold the experiment as soon as possible. We are faced with extremely complicated technical tasks, but nevertheless, the optimists reckon that the experiment may take place as early as in May next year.

During the encounter with journalists, the members of both delegations stressed the thought that the exchange of visits which has taken place has objectively promoted a noticeable strengthening in trust between the two sides, and this will indubitably help to achieve the ultimate goal of the talks—a total end to nuclear tests. [end recording]

SDI Test Plans Called 'Dodging Maneuver'

LD301457 Moscow World Service in English 1410 GMT 30 Jan 88

[Text] The Pentagon is preparing a series of tests under the Star Wars program, as the Strategic Defense Initiative, the SDI advanced by President Reagan is usually referred to. More from our commentator, Yuriy Solton.

Elements of space arms are to be tested, including a military laser, as well as computer systems for surveillance and guidance. It is also reported that a Pentagon branch dealing with the SDI has already set up a special unit for work to practically deploy the first echelon of antimissile weapons in space. The work is to be completed in the mid-nineties.

Adherents of the SDI demand that the United States Administration should take up a tough stand at the Geneva talks between the Soviet Union and the United States on cutting in half the strategic offensive armaments with compliance for an agreed period with the ABM Treaty and the way it was signed. They declare that talks should not affect the SDI project in any case. The intention to put arms into space at any cost can be only regarded as a dodging maneuver, using which the Pentagon would like to cancel out the accords on disarmament.

If the plans for militarizing space are realized, the entire strategic situation will be destabilized, and that can have rather serious consequences. The U.S. Administration itself is upholding a dual stand on the issue. In his State of the Union message President Reagan underlined the historic importance of the treaty scrapping medium- and shorter-range missiles and the even greater importance of concluding an agreement to cut strategic arms. He said that his government's efforts would be directed at securing a future free of the nuclear horror. But in the same State of the Union message the U.S. President again insisted on a need for America to build up war preparations. In this connection he extolled the Star Wars program.

One gets the impression that the U.S. Administration has so far failed practically to bring its concepts in line with the accords reached at the recent Soviet-American summit in Washington.

'Top Priority' Program on INF, U.S. Relations

LD311104 Moscow World Service in English 0710 GMT 31 Jan 88

["Top Priority" program by Vladimir Pozner with Dr Radomir Bogdanov, Sergey Plekhanov]

[Text] [Pozner] How do you do, ladies and gentlemen? This is Vladimir Pozner presenting "Top Priority." With me on the panel, our usual participants, Dr Radomir Bogdanov and Sergey Plekhanov.

This week, the last week in January, we saw the beginning of ratification procedure of the INF Treaty, both in the United States in the U.S. Senate, and here at the USSR Supreme Soviet. Considering the importance of this treaty, perhaps not so much as we have mentioned before in the military sense, because what we are looking at is about 3 percent of the warheads the two countries have...

[Bogdanov interrupts] Some people say 4, some people even say 6.

[Pozner] But even 6—that leaves both with 94 percent. So I say not even talking about the military importance but considering the enormous psychological importance, what it could lead to, the kind of framework it sets for further discussion, especially also considering the fact that both sides have now begun negotiating the possibility of a 50 percent reduction of strategic offensive nuclear weapons in Geneva, all of those things considered, how do you feel about the process of ratification as it begins in the United States and in the Soviet Union? Dr Bogdanov?

[Bogdanov] Yeah, Vladimir, I have a little bit different view on all that. Basically, I agree with all the elements you put together, but let me just have another look, rather I would call it a domestic look, at the ratification process.

[Pozner] You mean Soviet?

[Bogdanov] No, I mean American. Then Soviet. My feeling is that this ratification went well beyond the fact itself. It has bigger problems than the ratification itself, and my view is that what they are ratifying, or what they will ratify, is the future of the Soviet-American relations. How they will ratify it? I mean to say by that we'll be very much shaping the future course of the Soviet-American relations. And I am absolutely sure if they fail to ratify due to different reasons, that will be the end of the whole process of major improvement in the Soviet-American relations. Why? Because if you look at the correlation of forces within the Senate, if you look outside the Senate, and if you keep in mind that the election campaign, presidential election campaign, is gaining its full swing, you, I hope, will agree with me that now what is being debated in the Senate, not the ratification itself but first of all who will support who at the presidential election process and how they will support. And I mean moderate Republicans or ultraconservative Republicans. And the fight you have now in the Senate, it's exactly the fight between two wings of the Republican Party. Two wings comparing their forces, correlating their forces before the major fight they will have at the convention, who will be the...[changes thought] Maybe it's too complex, but I believe that this ratification, because of the circumstances surrounding it, it's more complex and more important than just the ratification of the treaty. You understand what I mean?

[Pozner] Yes, I do. Dr Plekhanov, do you agree with your counterpart here that the ratification or nonratification of the INF Treaty by the U.S. Senate could indeed, or will indeed, shape the future of Soviet-American relations? Do you agree with that view?

[Plekhanov] Well, at least, at least for the period until next spring, when the new administration comes to power. I think that the opponents of an improvement in Soviet-American relations...

[Pozner, interrupting] Not next spring, but the spring after next.

[Plekhanov] Yeah, I mean the spring of '89. I think the opponents pretty much concede the ratification itself to the administration. I don't think that they can muster enough votes to defeat the treaty. So what they can hope for is, number one, cripple the treaty as much as they can, by means of amendments—and of course everybody knows that attaching an amendment to the treaty requires only a simple majority, not a two thirds majority.

[Pozner] You're talking about conditions.

[Plekhanov] Yes. Conditions, understandings, qualifications. But I don't think that they will be able to cripple the treaty to such an extent that it would require sending it back to the negotiating table. A more realistic scenario, and I think a more dangerous scenario, which they have in mind is prolonging the ratification fight, filibustering it to such an extent as to have an impact on the negotiation process in Geneva on the 50 percent reduction. Because if they can generate enough heat, enough doubt about this new phase in Soviet-American relations, this process of disarmament which is really starting, then they can hope to throw enough spanners in the works of the negotiations in Geneva. And that, in effect I think it's not impossible to imagine that they can defeat the next phase, the 50 pecent reduction in the strategic offensive armaments. And here I am reminded of the figure of the prince of darkness, Mr Richard Perle. He's now not in the administration, but he knows his way round the U.S. Senate. He has worked there for a long time and he was instrumental in defeating or cripping more than one initiative in arms control. And I'm sure that he is now working, day and night...

[Pozner] Let me get back to another issue here. We know, having read the polls that have been published in the United States, that the overwhelming majority of Americans today support the INF Treaty, they want it to be ratified, they want it to work. Not only that, but the majority of Americans would like to see a 50 percent reduction in strategic offensive nuclear weapons.

[Plekhanov] And interestingly enough among the Republicans the percentage levels are higher than among the Democrats.

[Pozner] Right. What I'm driving at is this. Senators, U.S. Senators, and U.S. Congressmen in general, but since we are talking about ratification let's leave it up to the senators, are elected to office by the people of the United States of America to represent their interests. Now, we're straying a little bit from our subject, but I would like your views on, how do you explain that when these people are supposed to be the representatives of their constituents, who support the idea of an INF treaty and of a 50 percent cut, some of them are clearly doing the opposite? How does that tally?

[Bogdanov] Vladimir, Vladimir, that's exactly the trick, and that's a very important factor we should always keep in mind. The majority of American people, or American public opinion, supports the treaty, that one and the future one. Now you put the 1 million dollar question: How under these conditions can their representatives operate in such a way that they don't support the deed which has been supported by their electorate? That's the whole trick. I agree with Sergey that it would be very difficult to fail to ratify it, but you know you have what they call informed and uninformed public opinion. And what they are doing now in the Senate, that's exactly playing with that uninformed public opinion. For instance, the main argument of the major opponents of the treaty, first of all Senator Jesse Helms, is that: Look, why we should ratify this treaty if it goes only about destroying launchers but not the warheads? That's number one. Number two: Do we have enough verification procedures that we could trust those Russians? It's not exactly, you know, it's a question, question thrown on the table and left to the people to think it over, just to put seeds of doubt in their minds, you know. Because, you're quite right, there is a very, very clear-cut opinion. Those are good treaties. And there is another factor which is maybe more important than that—that you have a wave of, if you like, a very deep desire of Americans to see an improvement in the Soviet-American relations.

For instance, let me tell you a very little story which reflects to my mind the American mood now. A friend of mine very recently visited the United States and he was met by another Russian friend in Washington. And this friend tells: Look, I had no place to park my car. I was waiting for you. Then the policeman came and he looked at the number, and said: Are you Russian? He said: Yes, I'm Russian. Okay. You leave here your car, I'll watch it, look after your car until you...

[Pozner, interrupting] That's pretty exceptional.

[Bogdanov] No, no, I mean it reflects the general mood. Now, how those opposing the treaty, fighting against the treaty, and still I insist they are not fighting against the treaty, they are fighting against the fact that the Soviet-American relations are on the road of improvement. And let me remind you, somehow, it seems to me that this situation is somehow similar to the '72 situation, with the Jackson Amendment, when he amended SALT I in such a way that it crippled the whole future process of arms control and disarmament.

[Plekhanov] Made by Richard Perle, by the way.

[Bogdanov] Yeah, made by Richard Perle.

[Pozner] You seem to be very disturbed by Mr Perle

[Plekhanov] Well, he can do a lot of harm.

[Bogdanov] But I, Sergey, I wouldn't pay too much credit to him, I wouldn't like to see him satisfied...

[Pozner, interrupting] Let's not exaggerate, let's not exaggerate, yes.

That he's talked so much about over the Moscow Radio [Laughter] I do not believe he deserves that. But what worries me: They are not able to kill it. Killer amendments, to my mind they are not possible. But some amendments, some mild concoction of amendments, will make 50 percent cuts and verification crippled in such a way that instead of several months it will take maybe another year or so to find out the solution. What they're aiming at.

[Pozner] All right. Now let's go over to our side of it and I'd like to ask you, Dr Plekhanov: If you were—as perhaps some day you may be—a deputy of the Supreme Soviet of the USSR...

[Bogdanov, interrupting] By the way, I'm sorry. I think I should inform our listeners at the American end, he's not a deputy to Supreme Soviet, but he became a deputy to the director of the Institute of United States of America and Canada Studies.

[Pozner] Oh, really! Congratulations, congratulations!

[Bogdanov] That's the fact.

[Plekhanov] Thank you.

[Pozner] Nonetheless, if you were an elected representative of the Soviet people as a deputy to the Supreme Soviet, would you unconditionally vote for the INF Treaty or is there something that is bothering you, as a deputy? Are there things that you would be looking at before you decided finally to vote yea or nay? How do you feel about that?

[Plekhanov] Well, on the basis of the knowledge that I have now as a non-deputy to the Supreme Soviet, as a rank and file citizen...

[Bogdanov, amid laughter] But as a deputy to the United States of America and Canada Institute director.

[Plekhanov] On the basis of current knowledge I would support it wholeheartedly, without delay, and I would urge that more active work be done at the negotiating table in Geneva for the next phase, because I think we are still lagging behind the rate of new technology that's being introduced into the arms race. So I would have no doubt whatsoever and I think that there should be...

[Bogdanov, interrupting] Sergey, I'm afraid you're supplying arguments to Senator Jesse Helms. He will say: If Sergey Plekhanov is in favor of that, there is something tricky; we Americans should be aware.

[Pozner] Well, that's the old view that what's good for the Soviets is bad for Americans, and vice versa. But after all, we are talking about new thinking. What I'm saying is this, though. There seems to be the opinion, at least in some circles in the United States, that the issue of ratification depends totally and 100 percent on the U.S. Senate, that is to say that the Supreme Soviet of the USSR is not an issue. It will do what it is told to do, it will rubber stamp the treaty, and you know, blah, blah, blah. My question is: Is there anything about the treaty itself that could make a Soviet legislator think twice about it? Because as I have lectured to large audiences in this country on the subject of the Washington summit I have received questions from people who seem to be somewhat upset by the fact that the Soviets are going to destroy far more missiles than the Americans, that they are going to have to take off many more warheads than the Americans, that the French and the British missiles are not being taken into consideration, and then finally, is this not in some way somehow a threat to our security? I have gotten these questions from average citizens and I'm wondering if those questions do not exist in the minds of some of the people they have elected to office.

[Bogdanov] That means that the ratification at our end would not be an easy enterprise. What Sergey expressed just now, it's an expert, knowledgeable, based-on-facts opinion. I share his view, but I'm afraid that when it goes to, not on the professional level, when it goes to the deputies, when it goes to the public opinion and our military will have to testify—that would not be an easy case, because we will have, or they will have to explain and to give satisfactory answers to our public opinion to all the questions you have mentioned just now. And believe me, frankly, not as an expert but as a citizen, as a proud citizen, my heart does not accept all that. You know, and my proud [as heard] is little bit, if you like, harmed, though I understand. For instance, a very simple fact—American Pershings—for us they are other strategic weapons, but our SS-20's are not strategic for the Americans.

[Pozner] Not for the Americans, no.

[Bogdanov] For the Americans. So the removal, simple removal of Pershings, for us means that we have dealt with the strategic threat for us, not with the tactical. You know, we will have to explain and we will have to convince. So I'm aiming to say that this time the ratification won't be just a rubber stamp. You know, that's my feeling.

[Plekhanov] You know, we are living in a time of glasnost and you're right, Vladimir, that there are people who question the value of the treaty. I have encountered the same kind of question, including one more question: Can we trust the Americans?

[Pozner] Absolutely.

[Plekhanov] Will they not cheat, because they have cheated in the past, and they are not reliable. They signed the SALT II treaty and then failed to ratify it; they are destroying the ABM Treaty; and many other examples of American untrustworthiness. But I think it is good that people are asking those questions in the open. There have been public opinion polls which have registered some minority doubt or even opposition to an INF treaty precisely because of the things that Dr Bogdanov and you have mentioned. And it's good, because there's nothing like a 100 percent agreement on any issue. In a normal society there ought to be disagreements and there should be minority voices which should have an opportunity to air their views. And I'm sure that within the...[changes thought] during the ratification process in the Supreme Soviet we will hear some voices which will express doubts, and I see nothing unhealthy or unworthy about it.

[Pozner] Certainly there is nothing unworthy about it, that's for a fact, but I think it is clear that the majority of the people in the Soviet Union, in the United States, definitely want that treaty to be honored, and they want further progress. And I'm hoping that their elected representatives will do what they want.

And on that note, on behalf of "Top Priority," I wish you all good listening.

Nitze Favors INF Treaty Ratification

LD292001 Moscow TASS in English 1923 GMT 29 Jan 88

[Text] Washington January 29 TASS—Paul Nitze, special adviser to the U.S. President and secretary of state on arms control issues, has favoured ratification of the Soviet-American treaty on the elimination of intermediate- and shorter-range missiles without any reservations and amendments.

The treaty's earliest entry into force, he said on Thursday at the Senate Foreign Relations Committee hearings on treaty ratification, met the interests of the United States.

Nitze denied claims that the document did not contain reliable verification measures.

In the opinion of the authority on arms control, corresponding provisions of the treaty met the administration's demands in this area and contained effective verification measures.

Pyadyshev on U.S. Ties, 'Balance of Interests'

LD292313 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 1450 GMT 29 Jan 88

["Questions for the Chief Editor of the magazine 'MEZHDUNARODNAYA ZHIZN'"—TASS headline]

[Text] Moscow, 29 January (TASS)—The TASS diplomatic correspondent reports: The January issue of the magazine 'MEZHDUNARODNAYA ZHIZN' carries a leading article [peredovaya statya] on the results of December's Soviet-U.S. summit meeting in Washington, entitled "The First Real Result of Restructuring."

"Mikhail Gorbachev's visit to the United States and the results of his talks signify that a high point has been reached in the history of Soviet-U.S. relations and in international relations as a whole. This is why it is so natural that the latest issue of the magazine pays the lion's share of its attention to the Washington meeting," the TASS diplomatic correspondent was told in an interview by Boris Pyadyshev, Collegium of the USSR Ministry of Foreign Affairs member and chief editor of the magazine 'MEZHDUNARODNAYA ZHIZN'. "Soviet diplomacy was given the most humane task of securing for the country conditions whereby the Soviet people might increasingly work at enhancing the standard and quality of life. At a practical level this means it is necessary to remove confrontation, stop the arms race, and begin a process of real disarmament. Progress toward solving this task became possible on the basis of the new political thinking."

"The 100 Pershing-2s in Europe constitute the United States's potential ability to create an extremely unfavorable military threat for us at any moment. The fourfold advantage in our arsenal of SS-20 missiles did not have this ability vis-a-vis the United States. Therefore, from the political viewpoint the intermediate-range missiles became an important factor complicating relations in Europe and with the United States," Boris Pyadyshev continued.

"Therefore, it is absolutely clear that the least possible U.S. military presence on forward borders in Europe and Asia meets our military and political interests. Therefore, our policy's goal should indeed be to get all U.S. intermediate-range missiles removed from Europe and to prevent the siting of intermediate-range missiles there and in Asia. Moscow took a new realistic look at the relative value of weapons in this category, and took as a criterion not their numbers, not their 'gross numbers', but the ability of the missiles to perform certain tasks. It is only from this viewpoint that one should assess the 'exchange rate' in the agreement that was concluded."

"The new political thinking rejects the old simple rule that 'if one maintains good relations with someone, it is unfailingly to someone's detriment'", Boris Pyadyshev said. "The present era dictates a different moral and different laws. Today long-term policy cannot be constructed at another's expense. It is essential to seek a balance of interests not against someone, but together with everyone. This is difficult but the only true way to general security and equal cooperation."

CPSU's Batenin Opposes Carrington's INF Views

LD291636 Moscow TASS in English 1533 GMT 29 Jan 88

[Text] Moscow January 29 TASS—"The Soviet-American treaty concluded in December was the result of the movement of the two countries towards each other. What matters here is not force, not the strength of one's fists, but the mutual desire to lessen international tension", Geliy Batenin, military expert of the CPSU Central Committee, said today in an interview with the TASS diplomatic correspondent. "Appeals coming from the right-wing circles of the West, including NATO leaders, to hold talks with the Soviet Union from the position of strength, to build up conventional armaments, reflect yesterday's way of thinking".

This is the way the Soviet military expert commented on a speech made by NATO Secretary General Lord Carrington in Copenhagen at a meeting of heads of the Armed Forces of the North European NATO member countries. He asserted that it is the deployment of Pershing and cruise missiles in Europe that had forced the Soviet side to agree to serious compromises for reaching agreement on the elimination of medium- and shorter-range missiles.

"The results of the Washington meeting were brought about by a new political thinking, by a dramatic change in the approach to the solution of political problems both in the East and in the West", Geliy Batenin said further. "The world public also played an important part in it. It realizes today more than ever before the scope of the nuclear-missile threat coming from the nuclear arms race. It is this factor and not the policy of intimidation and threats that permitted to get the normalization process moving".

Gerasimov on UK Anti-Tank Brigade Formation

LD281821 Moscow Domestic Service in Russian 1600 GMT 28 Jan 88

[Excerpts] There was a briefing in on current international issues at the USSR Ministry of Foreign Affairs press center in Moscow today, conducted by Gerasimov, head of the Information Department of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs. In assessing a number of recent events, he commented on President Reagan's speech on ratification of the treaty scrapping intermediate- shorter-range missiles. He also spoke of Soviet aid to the people of Ethiopia. As you know, that country is now experiencing a severe drought. Comrade Gerasimov drew attention to the political conference of the Cocom member countries—the body controlling trade with the socialist countries—in Versailles. [passage omitted]

Another matter also came up at the briefing, and this is how Gennadiy Ivanovich Gerasimov addressed it with his natural sense of humor:

[Begin recording] The BBC and Deutsche Welle have reported that a special military brigade is being created in Britain in case of a Soviet tank invasion. We can only welcome such a turn of events: The thing is that the threat of Soviet tanks has always been an integral part and, perhaps, the main part of the theory of the Soviet threat to Western Europe. These tanks have been invested with exceptional running and combat qualities. For example, Hackett's book "The Third World War" was popular in Britain several years ago. In this, the tanks reached the Channel in hours.

It is possible the creation of a special anti-tank British military brigade will put an end to this kind of apprehension, because of course now that this brigade now exists, there can be no question of any tank drive to the Channel, so calm may reign in Europe. [end recording]

Weekly 'International Observers Roundtable'

LD311932 Moscow Domestic Service in Russian 1230 GMT 31 Jan 88

["International Observers Roundtable" program with TASS political observer Yuriy Kornilov and All-Union Radio commentators Boris Andrianov and Nikolay Agayants]

[Text] [Agayants] Good morning, comrades. How time flies! It seems that only yesterday, on the eve of the new year, the three of us were summing up 1987; yet already, January is almost over. As we look back on the month now ending, it should be said that it has been full of events differing greatly in caliber and significance. But all these happenings on the international scene have reflected, as in a mirror, the main tendencies existing in foreign policy, with all their complications and contradictions. The last week of January has been indicative in this respect. Despite the obvious changes of a positive nature connected with the Soviet-U.S. meeting in Washington, the new political thinking unfortunately is still having a difficult time. All the same, the situation we have now is not at all what it was, say, 2 or 3 years ago. The fact remains, and facts are stubborn— the obvious fact is that the motley anti-Soviet and anti-socialist forces in the West are finding it increasingly difficult to mold and maintain in people's minds their artificially created image of the Soviet Union as some sort of bellicose, impenetrably undemocratic state threatening aggression against the "Free World" and having no thought of anything except expansion.

[Andrianov] That is an entirely fair conclusion because when you look at the public opinion polls taken in the West, you cannot help noticing that the various anti-Soviet myths to which bourgeois propaganda resorts at times have not survived the collision with the course elaborated by the 27th CPSU Congress—the course toward restructuring, glasnost, democratization of our society, toward pursuing a constructive foreign policy. Those same public opinion polls testify that the popularity abroad of the Soviet state, and of our leaders, is greater than it has ever been.

[Kornilov] Well, changes in public opinion in the West do not and cannot in themselves bring about a radical change of direction in the international situation. But these changes do create very serious prerequisites for such a change. Of course the development of such tendencies is being promoted by the flexibility, purposefulness and constructiveness of our foreign-policy initiatives.

[Agayants] All that is undoubtedly so, Yuriy Emmanuilovich. We start from the assumption that the new approaches to international problems by which Soviet foreign policy and Soviet diplomacy are guided are the only ones possible in a situation in which human survival and the fate of our civilization are at stake, and these approaches are absolutely realistic.

This week, as you know, the USSR Supreme Soviet began debating the question of ratification of the Soviet-U.S. Treaty on the Elimination of Intermediate- and Shorter-Range Missiles signed by Mikhail Sergeyevich Gorbachev and Ronald Reagan at the White House on 8 December 1987. By a decision of the Presidium of the USSR Supreme Soviet, this question has been submitted for examination to the Foreign Affairs Commissions of the two chambers of our parliament, the Soviet of the Union and the Soviet of Nationalities. After thorough discussion in the commissions, they will prepare appropriate recommendations. Only after that will the Presidium of the Supreme Soviet take a decision on ratification of the treaty.

[Kornilov] You will recall, Nikolay Ivanovich, that at the same time, at the Capitol in Washington, the Senate Foreign Affairs, Armed Services and Intelligence Committees have also begun hearings on the question of ratification of the INF Treaty. In connection with the passing of this document to the country's supreme legislative body, the U.S. President has sent a message to the Senate in which he says, "I consider that this treaty is in the best interests of the United States and marks an important step in arms reduction. Therefore, I call on the Senate to recommend ratification of the treaty," end quote.

[Agayants] It is an odd situation, isn't it? One would think that after the rough time the sides have had in drawing up and signing the agreement on intermediate- and shorter-range missiles, the actual process of ratifying it would be little more than a pure formality.

[Andrianov] All the more so since most Soviet people and most Americans have welcomed this accord between the leaders of the United States and the USSR.

[Agayants] Exactly. But one should not forget, still less underestimate, in the first place, the existence in the United States of some very influential forces opposed to any cooperation between our states, especially in the sphere of disarmament. In the second place, we cannot dismiss the maneuvers of the representative of the extreme right wing in the U.S. Senate, who have behind them the U.S. military-industrial complex. To ratify the treaty, two-thirds of the votes must be won in the U.S. Senate. Approximate estimates suggest that the administration could expect to succeed in assuring itself of the necessary support among the senators; the trouble is that the opponents of the agreement on intermediate- and shorter-range missiles intend to use all kinds of obstructionist methods to drag out the debate and emasculate the treaty by all manner of amendments.

[Kornilov] Senator Alan Cranston, who is deputy leader of the Democratic majority, has said that the opponents of the treaty have prepared more than 100 proposed amendments. One can understand his alarm when he says that the real balance of power is now determined not by those for the treaty but by those against it. This situation, Cranston emphasizes, is determined by how people will vote on the "killer" amendments. I, he declares, will try to get a promise from the majority of the senators to oppose these killer amendments. He adds: We are close to that objective, but have not reached it yet.

[Agayants] Matters have now reached—and this is absolutely clear—a very crucial stage. One would like to hope that in the end, common sense will prevail over the tenancious stereotypes of the past; that the treaty on intermediate- and shorter-range missiles will become law and that it will not go the way of SALT II; and that the efforts of the USSR and the United States in searching for new steps towards nuclear disarmament will be successful.

But what, in my view, cannot but put us on our guard are these attempt to push through, by hook or by crook, the "compensation" program being hurriedly prepared by the Pentagon and its allies in the North Atlantic bloc. THE NEW YORK TIMES, a respected paper which can be fully relied upon to be well- informed, wrote recently that as soon as it became clear that the INF Treaty was going to be signed, the NATO strategists prepared a plan to increase nuclear armaments in Europe and make them capable of replacing the intermediate-and shorter-range missiles that are being eliminated. That is what's going on.

Incidentally, in connection with this, lately there has been a stepping-up of the ideological brainwashing of the Western public, with slander and crude fabrications being pressed into service. Contradicting themselves, the authors of these anti-Soviet propaganda opuses on the one hand assert that the intermediate- and shorter-range missile treaty is 'of little significance,' while on the other hand claiming that it breaches the defenses of the North Atlantic bloc. Doubts are also being raised about the reliability of the system of verification, though in that respect it would seem that the sides have thought of everything down to the smallest detail. The aim of all this is to hinder the process of ratification of the Soviet-U.S. agreement and, if possible, to wreck it.

[Andrianov] The Treaty on the Elimination of Intermediate- and Shorter-Range Missiles, if ratified, will enable us to enter the period of nuclear disarmament. It is historically the first highly important step toward creating a nuclear-free world. Certain people in the West simply do not like it. But, against the background of what has been achieved, one cannot fail to see that influential forces in NATO—and not only in NATO—are intent upon depriving the destruction of one class of missiles, on which the Soviet Union and the United States have agreed, of its value by building up arms in other respects.

[Agayants] The member countries of the Warsaw Treaty are behaving quite differently. You will remember that the leaders of the states of the socialist community, at their meeting in Berlin on 11 December of last year, unanimously called for further steps to be taken without delay towards disarmament, in order to extract the maximum benefit for the cause of world peace. Fully in keeping with this, by the way, is the willingness of the USSR, CSSR and GDR to withdraw the operational-tactical missiles from the territory of the GDR and Czechoslovakia even before the Soviet-U.S. treaty of 8 December 1987 officially comes into force.

During his official friendly visit this week, GDR Foreign Minister Fischer said at a dinner given in his honor at the Kremlin that it is necessary to strive for a further change for the better in the situation on the European Continent. With this aim, said Comrade Fischer, Erich Honecker had appealed to FRG Chancellor Kohl not only to do everything possible to implement the INF Treaty but also to play a part in extending nuclear disarmament in Europe to other areas. For this purpose, we ought to redouble our efforts to achieve a sharp reduction of armed forces and conventional arms. We should also try to abolish chemical weapons.

In this light, of course, still greater urgency is attributed to the joint proposal of Czechoslovakia and the GDR that a nuclear-free corridor and a zone free of chemical weapons be set up in Europe and measures taken to prevent a surprise attack. A speedy implementation of these initiatives would have a positive effect on the processes that are beginning and would be a stimulus to achieving global accords and settlements. That is our position: clear, precise, and constructive. Alas, the reaction to these proposals in the West is not only reserved, but also—judging by the fuss that has been stirred up over the notorious "compensation"—simply negative. Is that not so, Yuriy Emmanuilovich?

[Kornilov] The Soviet-U.S. treaty has received such strong and widespread public support throughout the world, including in the NATO countries, that not all the NATO strategists are bold enough to launch a frontal attack against it. They are evidently afraid of finding themselves in total isolation. The tactic they have chosen is another end, I would say, a more sophisticated one. It could be formulated in the words, "yes, but...," the claim being that the treaty as such is a good thing, but—and in this "but" is the whole crux of the matter.

Here, for instance, is how FRG Defense Minister Woerner defined his position 2 or 3 days ago in an interview with the Belgian newspaper LE SOIR. Woerner, of course, is due to take up the post of secretary general of NATO on 1 July. I quote: "The importance of the Soviet-U.S. Treaty on the Elimination of Intermediate- and Shorter-Range Missiles is that it set in motion the process of disarmament which can, and must, lead to other agreements in the sphere of conventional, strategic, and chemical weapons," end of quote. This is a positive and realistic appraisal, on the face of it. But having made it, Woerner at once performs a 180[ ]turn and goes so far as to assert that it would be a serious mistake to turn the whole of Europe into a completely nuclear-free zone. "We," he continues "need a limited quantity of nuclear weapons, enough to prevent war. If we remove all the nuclear weapons from Europe, we will make it possible for a conventional war to break out." He goes on to assert that Europe's real problem is not nuclear weapons but the absence of balance in the sphere of conventional arms.

As we can see, everything has been brought together here: an actual appeal to offset U.S. missiles, the theory of Soviet superiority in the sphere of what are called conventional weapons—as if Mr Woerner were not aware that it is precisely the USSR, our allies, and friends who are persistently proposing a program to reduce conventional weapons, armed forces and arms in Europe from the Atlantic to the Urals—and finally, attempts simply to frighten the Western man-in-the-street with a mythical Soviet threat.

[Agayants] We have been talking here about the fact that certain circles in the countries of Western Europe intend to offset the U.S. nuclear weapons that are to be eliminated in accordance with the INF Treaty, and moreover, not merely to make good the loss provided for by this agreement. According to their plans, following the destruction of such missiles in Europe, there should be not fewer but still more nuclear weapons in Europe. Exposing these schemes, the British newspaper THE OBSERVER points out that as a result of the intended modernization, the overall number of new warheads will be two or three times greater than those eliminated. That is in Europe, the area covered by the Soviet-U.S. treaty signed on 8 December last year.

The opponents of this document attempt to justify their intentions by unproven statements to the effect that the Washington agreement represents a one-sided advantage for the Soviet Union. Such fabrications are, of course, based on a shortage of common sense on the part of the authors, who are pursuing only one goal: convincing public opinion of the fact that Western Europe is allegedly unable to survive without nuclear weapons. This idea, incidentally, calculated to deceive the masses, has unconcealed support from beyond the ocean.

[Agayants] Here is something that must not be ignored. The doomed missiles have still not vanished from the face of Europe, and the United States is already not hiding its decision to deploy sea-based cruise missiles ever more widely in the Far East. Two and 1/2 weeks ago, the commander of the U.S. Armed Forces stationed in Japan declared that this year the guided missile cruiser "Bunker Hill" will be stationed at the U.S. Yokosuka Naval Base. This is one of the most up-to-date warships. It was only launched 4 months ago. It has a hefty displacement of around 10,000 tons and can carry Tomahawk nuclear cruise missiles, while a highly modern computer guidance system, Aegis, gives it the ability to use these to attack up to 18 different targets simultaneously. I think it is important to note that this missile cruiser is replacing at Yokosuka an obsolete frigate being taken away from there. Such modernization, in the opinion of the Japanese news agency KYODO, is designed to increase drastically the operational naval might of the United States in the northwest Pacific. It should be added that during the present year, the Pentagon is also planning to transfer the destroyer Fife and the frigate Robert Bradley, which are also equipped with cruise missiles. These will replace two obsolete vessels.

There are now a total of 10 military craft of the U.S. 7th Fleet, based at Yokosuka, including the strike aircraft carrier Enterprise. One might reasonably ask how the Pentagon justifies its desire to position as many as possible of its sea-based Tomahawk cruise missiles close to the borders of the Soviet Union.

[Kornilov] Well, a typical sample of such justification was given the other day by Admiral Ronald Hays, commander of U.S. forces in the Pacific and Indian Ocean region. Speaking to U.S. and Japanese servicemen, he said that in spite of the INF Treaty, the Soviet Union is allegedly building up its military might in the Pacific. The admiral did not take the trouble to produce any facts to prove that such accusations are well-founded. Strictly speaking, he could not do so, since such facts simply do not exist. But what does the representative of the Pentagon care about facts?

Hayes, for the umpteenth time already, is raining groundless accusations on the Soviet Union. The aim of such attacks remains the same: to create the appearance that the infamous Soviet threat is still growing stronger and stronger in the Asia-Pacific region, and on this basis—if one can call it such—to appeal to Tokyo to strengthen Japanese-U.S. military cooperation still more firmly. What is most important, it is intended to lay particular stress on the extremely important significance the Pentagon attributes in its plans to the Armed Forces of the United States and Japan.

[Andrianov] It is on precisely this that the Washington strategists are currently concentrating with redoubled force. Such pushing, not to say, pressure, emerged in full measure, according to the Japanese press, during the recent simultaneous trips across the ocean by three representatives of official Tokyo. During some 10 days in the middle of this month, the foreign minister, the prime minister and the head of the National Defense Agency of Japan were in Washington. The public of that country was disturbed by the militaristic aspect of the visit by Premier Takeshita. The meeting of the head of the Japanese Government with the U.S. president, as noted by the Japanese Socialist Party, from beginning to end followed a U.S. scenario. Takeshita gave pledges to provide comprehensive assistance to U.S. military strategy, which is in contradiction to the positive tendencies now taking shape in the world. This pledge conceals within it factors of instability for the Asia-Pacific region. Tokyo's readiness for such assistance took on a more concrete outline, as a result of the talks of Kawara, Japanese defense chief, with Carlucci, U.S. secretary of defense.

Here's what ASAHI said of this, for example: "Japan has heaped upon itself a new burden of obligations, entailing a whole series of problems touching on accords on beginning joint Japanese-U.S. research with the aim of ensuring the operations of U.S. Armed Forces sent to Japan in an emergency." Developing its thought, this Japanese newspaper noted that "up to the present time, Japan has provided assistance to the U.S. troops stationed on its territory, but this assistance was limited to a peacetime framework, whereas the research being planned goes beyond this framework and touches on questions of providing help to the U.S. Armed Forces in action in the country in war time."

[Agayants] This quotation, Boris Vasiliyevich, repeats the word "research." No doubt this needs to be clarified to make it clear what we are talking about. What is understood is not scientific research but specific applied developments for military use. What is meant by these? Lieutenant General Dyke, commander of U.S. infantry forces in Japan, has given a sufficiently precise answer to this question. Speaking at a press conference in Saporo, he explained that one of the main directions of this research will lie in creating a system for preliminary deployment of U.S. military technology to Japanese territory, in particular to Hokkaido Island, that is, in direct proximity to the territory of the Soviet Union. This circumstance evidently gave the Chinese news agency, XINHUA, grounds for stating that the system of Japanese-U.S. military relations has undergone qualitative changes. And changes like these leave their mark on the entire strategic situation in the Far East, as you will understand yourselves.

[Kornilov] This is a perfectly reasonable remark, Nikolay Ivanovich. The same ASAHI has noted that the intention to concentrate military equipment on Japanese territory in order to provide U.S. troops with it in advance is dictated by the striving to prepare not only for any possible emergency in that country but also for a possible conflict in the Asian region.

The other day, literally, reports started circulating that the Japanese National Defense Agency is working out a new draft 5-year plan for developing the armed forces in the period after 1990. Its content, the newspaper YOMIURI thinks, gives rise to the fear that Japanese strategy may go beyond strictly defensive limits. I think this fear is well-founded. In their recent recommendations to the U.S. and Japanese governments, a group of military experts from the two countries suggested examining the question of the possibility of sending Japanese self-defense forces outside the Japanese archipelago, which is, incidentally, totally prohibited by the Constitution currently in force in Japan.

[Agayants] Yes, the Japanese Constitution contains certain peaceful provisions. However, to all appearances, the country's ruling circles have for a long time already regarded them as a kind of eyesore and want to get rid of them. That may be confirmed by the resolution adopted at the latest congress of the Japanese Liberal Democratic Party. I will remind you that it took place 10 days ago. So, the Liberal Democrats in power in that country decided at their congress to strive for national agreement, with the purpose of revising the current Constitution.

Incidentally, Clause 9 of the Constitution forbids Japan to create armed forces. Of course, they exist in a disguised form as the above-mentioned self-defense forces, but this tag apparently does not suit official Tokyo in connection with its new strategic calculations determined by the increasingly close military cooperation between Japan and the United States.

[Andrianov] All this, naturally, causes concern among the Japanese democratic public. Specifically, this concern was reflected in the Japanese socialists' draft course of action for this year. This document will be submitted for approval by the congress of the Japanese Socialist Party, which is to be held in February. The draft points out that Takeshita's current cabinet adheres to the line of former conservative governments aimed at involving Japan in Washington's military strategy. Specifically, the continuously growing allocations for the armed forces are a manifestation of this. For the second year in a row, these allocations have exceeded the official limit which was in force earlier, amounting to 1% of the gross national product. Therefore, the Japanese Socialist Party—incidentally, it is one of the most influential opposition forces—intends to carry on with its broad campaign of struggle against nuclear arms, for disarmament and adherence to the policy of neutrality, and for dissolving the armed forces set up in violation of the Constitution.

The Japanese Socialists advocate phasing out the system of the so-called security treaty with the United States, in which they see the primary cause of the increasingly close ties being formed between Japan and Washington's military and strategic machine, ties fraught with unpredictably dangerous consequences for the country.

[Agayants] I would like to dwell in more detail on another question. The preparation for another round of the Afghan-Pakistani talks that are scheduled for February is in full swing. The talks are being conducted, as is known, through Cordovez, personal representative of the UN secretary general. Cordovez has visited Kabul and Islamabad; this has attracted much attention from the international public. Will the Geneva process be completed, and how?

[Kornilov] Last year, when I was on a journalistic assignment in Pakistan, I had an opportunity to meet Mohammad Khan Junejo, the country's prime minister. Naturally during our conversation, ways of securing peace and stability in Asia were touched upon. We in Islamabad, Junejo told me, are highly appreciative of the USSR's realistic approach to the problems of consolidating peace on the Asian Continent. Mikhail Sergeyevich Gorbachev's statement on 28 November 1986 at the press conference in Delhi, in which he stressed that the USSR wants good and friendly relations with the Pakistani people, met with a broad response in Pakistan.

I asked the prime minister what he thought about the situation around Afghanistan. The importance of a speedy political solution to this problem is obvious. The Pakistani people are expecting the government it elected to reach a solution to this problem, he answered. Junejo stressed—and with good reason—that the Afghan problem is not a simple one, and additional efforts are required to resolve it.

You will recall that since the Afghan leadership proclaimed its course of restoring peace in the country, of national concord, the United States and its allies have doubled their military and financial aid to the extremist Islamic counterrevolutionary groupings that have entrenched themselves in Pakistan. What has that aid brought? As a result of the destruction of civil aircraft downed by U.S. Stinger missiles, more than 160 persons, including more than 20 children, have already died. The mercenary bandits trained and armed by CIA emissaries continue to fire U.S. surface-to-surface missiles at Afghan populated areas, to defile mosques, blast bridges and roads— to terrorize the population. In other words, they are doing all they can to keep the bloodshed going.

[Andrianov] Taking all that has been said into account, what are the real prospects for a settlement?

[Kornilov] Well, I repeat that the opponents of a settlement are acting, and acting energetically. However, many observers say today that the next round of the Afghan-Pakistani talks, as we said, will be the last and closing one. I think that despite the great complexity of the problem, there are weighty grounds for such a forecast.

[Agayants] It seems that today there are also good grounds for saying that Kabul's line towards national reconciliation is acquiring an ever-growing international standing and is becoming a kind of base model for settling conflicts in other regions, too.

[Kornilov] Absolutely. The conviction that the policy of national reconciliation is destined to play, and is playing, the decisive role in resolving regional conflict situations, and is opening a way toward stopping the senseless and fratricidal bloodshed and solving urgent national problems, is getting stronger in the international arena.

[Agayants] Our program is drawing to a close; its participants thank you, comrades, for your attention. All the best to you.

More on Stockholm 'Six-Nation' Meeting

PM281515 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 23 Jan 88 Morning Edition p 5

[Special correspondents V. Kobysh and A. Sychev dispatch: "Appeal of the 'Six'"]

[Excerpts] Stockholm—The next meeting of the heads of state and government of the "Six-Nation Peace and Disarmament Initiative" countries has just taken place in the Swedish capital. [passage omitted]

Those who were at the previous meetings sensed something new and reassuring in Stockholm—the confidence that mankind can protect itself from self-destruction. This was expressed in the declaration adopted here and the speeches by the heads of state and government of the "Six." It was stressed that the signing of the Treaty on the Elimination of Intermediate- and Shorter-Range Missiles has opened the way to ridding mankind of the nuclear threat. The resolution of this task was directly linked with total rejection of the plans to militarize space and with the cessation of any space weapons tests. "No defensive shields in space. This is yet another terrible threat to mankind," J. Nyerere, former Tanzanian president, stated. "Each of us bears responsibility for the removal of the nuclear threat."

Political observers point out that the declaration calls for the destruction of the remaining short-range tactical nuclear weapons in Europe. As Greek Prime Minister A. Papandreou stated, the NATO tactic of "nuclear deterrence," which today envisages inflicting "surgical nuclear strikes," is a direct step toward mutually assured destruction. The speeches by the leaders of the six countries contained a demand for the immediate cessation of nuclear weapon tests. To this end, it was proposed, among other things, that experts from many countries of the world convene in Stockholm in June and determine measures for monitoring its observance and also for the complete elimination of chemical weapons and a reduction in conventional armaments.

The six countries' leaders spoke in the huge auditorium of the National House, which is well-known to every Stockholm inhabitant. The statement by Mexican President Miguel de la Madrid, in particular, was met with lively interest. "We nonnuclear countries can play our role in eliminating nuclear weapons," he said. "In a few months, the UN special session on disarmament will meet. At this time, on the threshold of the session, we must not forget that nuclear weapons pose an equal threat to weak and strong, rich and poor."

This year began, to use Indian Prime Minister R. Gandhi's expression, with fresh hope. "We are not merely in favor of total disarmament," he stated. "We are against any wars." Advocating an immediate moratorium on all nuclear weapon tests, the Indian prime minister repeated much of what he said with M.S. Gorbachev in their joint statement. "We advocate a world," R. Gandhi pointed out, "in which goodness and mutual understanding, charity and readiness to help one another live side by side."

The Argentine president could not come to Stockholm because of the threat in his country of a military coup. The speech by R. Alfonsin's personal representative showed that despite all the positive changes occurring in international relations, terror and violence continue to threaten the world. We felt this acutely when we saw the heads of the "Six" states and governments standing at Olof Palme's grave....

"What kind of world do we live in?" We saw this question on R. Gandhi's lips. Of course, there is no place for arithmetic in such matters. But when 3 years ago we saw the "Six" with Indira Gandhi still alive and Olof Palme full of optimism, and now they are no more, it is probably not only us who were not quite ourselves. We involuntarily think that terror is not the only thing at work here; behind it all lie the malice and hatred that arise in a world in which "security" is maintained by nuclear warheads aimed at one another.

We saw clearly the heavy hearts of each of the meeting participants who paid tribute to the memory of O. Palme. Of course, everything that they felt at that minute could not fail to influence the course of the meeting and the emotional state of its participants.

It was an unusual and tremendously dramatic meeting, which took place at a time when mankind is experiencing a time of anxiety and hope. We were no more than correspondents at this meeting, but we had an opportunity to talk to each of its participants, and not only with them. The Swedish authorities invited to Stockholm approximately 30 prominent public and political figures, well-known scientists, and people whom the "Six" consider to be, as it were, their "aktiv." We will not hide the fact that we were pleased that Soviet scientists were among these 30: Academician Ye.P. Velikhov, vice president of the USSR Academy of Sciences; and Academician G.A. Arbatov, director of the USSR Academy of Sciences United States of America and Canada Institute.

Among others we talked with the mayor of Hiroshima, Takeshi Araki. What does he think of the meeting and the declaration adopted at it?

"I think that everything that has been discussed here and on which an accord has been secured," Hiroshima's mayor said, "confirms that the overwhelming majority of people long for the destruction of nuclear weapons. They not only defile our earth but threaten its very existence."

We asked the mayor of Hiroshima whether he is acquainted with the program submitted by M.S. Gorbachev for creating a nuclear-free world in our century. "I am not only acquainted with it," Takeshi Araki said, "but I think that the plan for the phased destruction of nuclear weapons is the only possible and realistic one in terms of the period for its implementation. The whole world must not become a Hiroshima; that is how I understand your program."

John Galbraith, the U.S. scientist and economist, assessed the results of the session of the "Six" as a sign of the changes taking place in the world, which must inevitably bring mankind toward peaceful cooperation and the renunciation of all types of weapons of mass destruction.

The conversation with Mexican President Miguel de la Madrid began in an unusual way. He—not us— began to ask us questions about the restructuring underway in the Soviet Union, the democratization, and the possibilities for the future development of relations between our countries in all areas. The Mexican president expressed himself with the utmost clarity on the Stockholm meeting. We know what we want, he said. We want people not to kill one another using either nuclear or any other weapons. We want mankind to enter the 21st century as a civilized community.

Chazov Speaks at London AIDS Meeting

LD272250 Moscow TASS in English 2248 GMT 27 Jan 88

[Text] London January 27 TASS—TASS Correspondent Andrey Biryukov reports: The main way of preventing the spread of Acquired Immune Deficiency Syndrome (AIDS) is the widening of the prevention of the disease and enlightening work. This is said by many delegates to an international meeting of health ministers on problems of preventing the spread of AIDS. The meeting underway here is attended by some 400 persons — ministers, representatives of United Nations specialised bodies, experts from 140 countries, the USSR included.

Speakers note that in conditions when medical preparations for effectively combating AIDS virus are lacking the human factor becomes extremely important. It depends on the conduct and information of man as to what AIDS is like and with what it threatens his family and finally on moral standards and responsibility of every person what scopes the spread of this disease assumes. Combating drug abuse is to play an important role since the transmission of the virus through blood in using needles is one of the likeliest ways of contamination with AIDS virus. In this connection representatives of the Scandinavian countries said that broad educational campaign conducted there among the risk groups started bearing fruit.

The delegates heard with interest a speech by USSR Minister of Health Academician Yevgeniy Chazov. He said that 33 AID virus carriers have been registered in the USSR. 18 Of them had contacts with foreigners. Among the 97 thousand foreigners arriving in the USSR who underwent AIDS virus tests a serum-positive reaction was discovered in 221 persons. This is why we hold that broad tests for the virus and informing persons with serum-positive reaction that they pose a definite threat to the health of other persons are important factors for preventing the spread of AIDS in the world, he said.

The delegates to the meeting pointed to another aspect in combatting AIDS—the role of the mass media. They said that, deplorably, cases are quite frequent when the press by its writings on AIDS causes panic and fears among the population and provokes a negative and cruel treatment of some groups of persons.

U.S. Nobel Laureate Interviewed on Paris Forum

PM281447 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 24 Jan 88 Morning Edition p 5

[Interview in Paris with Professor Wassily Leontief, director of New York University's Institute for Economic Analysis, by own correspondent Yu. Kovalenko: "We Are All Closely Interconnected"; date not given]

[Text] Paris—Professor W. Leontief, director of New York University's Institute for Economic Analysis, is a participant in the Paris meeting of 75 Nobel prizewinners "On the Dawn of the 21st Century: Dangers and Hopes." Your correspondent asked him to sum up some of the results of the debate.

"Scientists, politicians, and writers who enjoy great prestige in their own sphere and whose opinion is heeded both by the public and by 'the strong of this world' have gathered in Paris," Wassily Leontief said. "I hope our meeting will help to really assess the problems facing mankind and to make specific proposals for resolving them. I particularly wanted here to note the significance of cooperation between Soviet and U.S. scientists. We approach a whole number of questions from identical positions. Of course, our two countries are not capable of resolving all problems facing mankind, but much depends on them. One of the acutest problems is the gap between poor and industrially developed countries. It is as dangerous as the atom bomb. Indidentally, I exchanged opinions on this question with M.S. Gorbachev during his visit to Washington."

[Kovalenko] Politicians are increasingly frequently turning to scientists for assistance....

[Leontief] Of course, although they do not always listen to us. But, thanks to the press, radio, and television, we are able to directly address the broadest masses, whose sentiments have to be taken into account by political leaders.

[Kovalenko] Has the Treaty on the Elimination of Intermediate- and Shorter-Range Missiles, from your point of view, influenced the social climate in the United States itself?

[Leontief] Undoubtedly, including with regard to Americans' attitude toward the Soviet Union, which has begun to change for the better. All states of the world are closely interconnected today. Our two countries are the strongest, and therefore they depend on each other in the security sphere. We in the United States are no less interested than the Soviet Union in disarmament. If we reduce our spending on arms, we will be able to use the funds so released to resolve our domestic matters—we have many poor people, and we must improve social security and increase appropriations to science. [Leontief ends]

In conclusion, the conversation turned to the economic reform being conducted in the Soviet Union.

"I hope it will be implemented in full, for I consider the direction chosen by M.S. Gorbachev absolutely correct. There is no denying that it is a difficult task, tantamount to turning a huge steamship around in a narrow channel. But I believe the transformations will be carried out," my interlocutor said.

More on UN Information Directors Conference

LD281755 Moscow TASS in English 1833 GMT 28 Jan 88

[Text] Moscow January 28 TASS—"Our meeting in the Soviet capital has been an integral part of the attempt to reorganize the U.N. Department of Public Information and the U.N. system on the whole," U.N. Under-secretary-General Therese Paquet-Sevigny told a press conference here today.

She took part in the regional conference of U.N. information centre directors for Europe and North America, closed in Moscow today.

"The meeting became possible thanks to the Soviet Union's cordial hospitality and openness. The USSR thus demonstrated its commitment to the idea of diversity of the United Nations and various mandates of the organization which vary from issues of peace and security to self-determination, human rights and development questions," she pointed out.

"At the meeting in Moscow we discussed a broad range of issues connected with the improvement of work of the department. First of all we should step up our efforts. Modernize methods of our work and lay greater emphasis on specific actions," Therese Paquet-Sevigny said.

"We are striving to invigorate the activity of our centres and work with greater purpose. In handling current tasks, we count also on support of the mass media which share responsibility for reflecting people's concern over the future of mankind."

"As see this, a considerable part of U.N. member countries are ready and want to use the representative international organization as the central forum for handling major issues of the present time," Therese Paquet-Sevigny pointed out in conclusion.

United States & Canada

Voss-Led Delegation Concludes Washington Talks

Discusses Arms Control

LD290107 Moscow TASS in English 2355 GMT 28 Jan 88

[Text] Washington January 29 TASS—The delegation of the Soviet parliamentary group led by Avgust Voss, chairman of the Soviet of Nationalities of the USSR Supreme Soviet and deputy chairman of the Soviet parliamentary group, which is staying here at the invitation of the U.S. Congress, continued on Thursday its talks with American legislators.

The delegation met with the leadership of the U.S. parliamentary group, members of the Senate Committee on Foreign Relations and the House Committee on Foreign Affairs. During the meeting with members of the Senate Committee on Foreign Relations, which is currently holding hearings on the Soviet-U.S. Treaty on the Elimination of Intermediate- and Shorter-Range Missiles, Georgiy Korniyenko, a deputy of the USSR Supreme Soviet, said that a qualitatively new step had been made in the disarmament area— The two nuclear giants for the first time agreed not about some restrictive measures and not simply about reduction, but to eliminate completely two classes of nuclear missile weaponry.

"True, the sceptics— and there are always some— keep pointing out that the weapons to be eliminated constitute a fraction of the nuclear arsenals of the United States and the Soviet Union. However," Korniyenko continued," first, it shouldn't be forgotten that this 'fraction' is in fact equivalent to several thousand 'Hiroshimas' and 'Nagasakis', and, second, we see the main significance of the intermediate- and shorter-range missile treaty in it being only the first step—it must pave the way to further, much more radical measures for the reduction of nuclear weapons down to their complete elimination."

"Soviet people are especially concerned," the deputy of the USSR Supreme Soviet said, "and perplexed by the reports that various plans are being discussed in NATO to circumvent the treaty by building up, as 'compensation', aviational and naval systems not covered by the treaty. Soviet people justifiably ask: How come, the Soviet Union will destroy many more missiles than the U.S. and in NATO capitals they are talking about some kind of 'compensation'? Wouldn't it be more logical to reverse the issue and talk about the right of the USSR to compensation? We are also being put on guard by the news from Geneva. There are indications that the American delegation, to put it mildly, is not very inclined to adhere to the instructions which were given to the delegations at the Washington summit, namely: to work out both a treaty on the 50 per cent reduction of strategic offensive arms and an agreement to observe the ABM Treaty, as concluded in 1972, and not withdraw from the treaty for a specified period of time."

"So, as you see," Korniyenko said further, "the consideration of the question of the ratification of the treaty in the Foreign Affairs Committees of the Supreme Soviet, which will begin soon, this time, as it looks, will not proceed smoothly at all. One would like to hope that the supreme legislative bodies of both countries after a thorough and comprehensive review of the intermediate- and shorter-range missile treaty will be assured that it represents a mutually acceptable balance of interests of the states-signatories and that at the same time it meets the broader interests of all states and peoples, the interests of the entire mankind as the first step along the road leading to the complete removal of the nuclear threat looming over mankind. For its part, the Soviet Union is ready and will actively work to have this first step followed as soon as possible, without unjustified delays, by new - not less, but more far-reaching steps. It applies both to strategic offensive arms and tactical nuclear, conventional and chemical weapons. As General Secretary Gorbachev emphasized on a number of occasions, there is no such type of weapons which the Soviet Union would not be ready to reduce or completely eliminate on the basis of reciprocity."

TV Report on Talks

LD311426 Moscow Television Service in Russian 0500 GMT 31 Jan 88

[From the "Novosti" newscast]

[Text] [Announcer] A delegation of the USSR parliamentary group led by Comrade Voss, chairman of the Council of Nationalities of the USSR Supreme Soviet, is in the United States at the invitation of Congress.

[Correspondent M. Gafurov, identified by screen caption] A delegation of the USSR parliamentary group is being received in Washington's capitol building, in which the U.S. Congress operates. One of the oldest congressmen, Claude Pepper, chairman of the House of Representatives Rules Committee, and Congressmen Gordon and Tyler are talking to the head of the Soviet delegation, Deputy Voss, chairman of the Council of Nationalities, and to Deputies Korniyenko, Lomonosov, Kalin, and Logunov. In the capital these days, there have been meetings with the House and Senate leadership and with the parliamentary groups of the United States, as well as conversations within the foreign affairs committees of both houses of Congress. Important talks are continuing between the parliamentarians of both countries.

[Announcer] The Soviet delegation gave a press conference at the Soviet Embassy in Washington. The delegation has left Washington for New York.

Holds News Conference

LD301440 Moscow TASS in English 1345 GMT 30 Jan 88

[Text] Washington January 30 TASS—The delegation of the USSR parliamentary group led by Avgust Voss, chairman of the Soviet (Council) of Nationalities of the USSR Supreme Soviet, deputy chairman of the USSR parliamentary group, held a press conference at the Soviet Embassy Friday.

Summing up the results of the delegation's visit to Washington at the invitation of the U.S. Congress, the head of the delegation noted that the Soviet parliamentarians had useful talks with James Wright, speaker of the House of Representatives, Senate leaders and other prominent members of the U.S. Congress. "The key purpose of our visit was to discuss jointly with members of the U.S. Congress the way relations between our countries are developing and what is necessary to do to imply a stable and promising nature to them", he said. "Considerable attention was paid to the quest at the parliamentary level of the routes, identifying real steps and means to promote normal, and consequently, positive and productive relations between the USA and the USSR in a variety of areas."

"The Washington top-level meeting was a signal event in world politics," Avgust Voss went on. "The Treaty on Eliminating Intermediate-Range and Shorter-Range Missiles between the USSR and the United States, which was signed during the meeting, set a good beginning to specific measures to build a nuclear-free world. This treaty should be viewed as a shift away from the stereotypes of confrontation, as an embodiment of the concept of equality and reciprocity."

"It is our firm conviction that the course of abolishing nuclear missiles is in the vital interests and aspirations of all peoples and all countries, adds to the world community's faith in secure future, in the triumph of reason and humanism."

Avgust Voss said that thorough and serious preparations were currently in progress in the Supreme Soviet of the USSR for the process of ratifying the INF Treaty. Detailed hearings on this issue will take place within the framework of the Foreign Affairs Commissions of both chambers—the Soviet of the Union and the Soviet of Nationalities. "We see our task in convincing those who have doubts, and there are such people in our country, to respond to questions which are put in view of the treaty by Soviet people."

At the press conference it was noted that mutual interest in each other was growing among the peoples of the USSR and the United States. "Our task as parliamentarians is to make the atmosphere more auspicious for us to be able to meet more frequently, to know and understand each other better, to move ahead along the road of building normal relations and conditions for coming to grips with problems by joint efforts", the head of the Soviet delegation said. "To put it shortly, to make our contribution to promoting mutual understanding and cooperation between our countries and peoples".

Avgust Voss said that letters were handed over on behalf of the chairmen of the chambers of the USSR Supreme Soviet to James Wright, speaker of the House of representatives, and the leadership of the Senate with proposals for creating a mechanism for a regular consideration at the parliamentary level of the issues pertaining to cooperation in the humanitarian field and observance of human rights in the USSR and the United States.

It was noted at the press conference that boosting trade, scientific and technical cooperation, strengthening contacts among various organisations, among ordinary Soviet and American people could become an important element of the normalization of relations between the United States and the USSR.

The participants in the press conference answered numerous questions by newsmen. The question of the possibility of attaining an accord between the United States and the USSR on reducing strategic offensive armaments evoked particular interest. "The possibility is not an abstract notion", said Georgiy Korniyenko, deputy of the USSR Supreme Soviet. "It depends on the political will, the energy put in the effort by one or the other side. From our point of view, it is possible building on the accords reached during the summit meeting in Washington to draft an agreement on cutting strategic offensive arms. This is difficult but it is possible. This requires common vigorous and energetic efforts".

On the same day, the Soviet parliamentary delegation left Washington for New York.

Departs U.S. for Moscow

LD011023 Moscow TASS in English 1003 GMT 1 Feb 88

[Text] Moscow February 1 TASS—The delegation of the parliamentary group of the USSR led by August Voss, chairman of the Soviet of Nationalities of the USSR Supreme Soviet, deputy chairman of the Parliamentary Group of the USSR, returned here today after visiting the United States of America at the invitation of the U.S. Congress.

'Sources' Confirm Meese Role in Bribery Case

LD010933 Moscow TASS in English 0902 GMT 1 Feb 88

[Text] New York February 1 TASS—Sources in the Reagan administration have confirmed the Sunday report of THE NEW YORK TIMES to the effect that Special Prosecutor James McKay had informed high-ranking officials of the White House of an important and long-standing role of Edwin Meese in the railroading of the project of an oil pipeline connecting Iraq and Jordan that was worth about one billion dollars. This confirmation was received by the NBC television company.

Apart from it, NBC learned from informed sources that McKay had shown to Howard Baker, head of the White House Staff, a 1985 memorandum addressed to Meese that contained a proposal to bribe an Israeli official. The memorandum was written by Robert Wallach, a friend of the attorney general. It dealt with a series of bribes whose purpose was to prevent Israel from disrupting the construction of the oil pipeline connecting Iraq and a Jordanian port near the Israeli border.

The attorney general did not make any effort to comply with the law that explicitly bans the bribing of foreigners. Neither did he sever his ties with Wallach who, by all appearances, was the initiator of the conspiracy for the purpose of bribing.

In public the Washington administration tries to present the affair as a trifle and the uproar around it as an overly vigorous reaction of the American press which likes sensations. According to NBC, assistants to the President say that Reagan resolutely supports his old friend and that Meese should not resign.

However, in private officials of the White House express concern over the investigation into the Meese case, NBC reports. They do not rule out a possibility of the special prosecutor bringing charges against the attorney general.

In this case, observers point out, Meese will be the second high-ranking official of the Reagan administration to be accused of illegal activities during his stay in office. Raymond Donovan, U.S. secretary of labour, was the first one.

According to the COX information service, on the whole, the present administration is the most corrupted one in the U.S. history. Some 120 members of the administration were accused of crimes and the breach of ethical norms.

Reagan Calls for More Nicaraguan Contra Aid

LD302222 Moscow TASS in English 2204 GMT 30 Jan 88

[Text] Washington January 30 TASS—As the date of Congressional voting on the administration's request for additional aid for Nicaraguan contras is getting nearer, the White House is stepping up its efforts to brainwash legislators and public opinion.

President Ronald Reagan's Saturday radio address served exactly that goal.

Trying to substantiate the administration's request, the President painted a gloomy picture of a communist invasion of America and accused Nicaragua of "extending violence".

"It could be only a matter of time before serious unrest and instability reach Mexico," he said.

In defiance of facts, Reagan claimed that the United States "has made every effort to promote a negotiated solution". Meanwhile, it is well known that it is the U.S. that has always impeded, and continues to impede, the process of reaching settlement in Central America by supplying armaments to the contras.

The President said that only additional aid for the contras, who are sowing death and destruction in Nicaragua and terrorising the country's population, could bring peace nearer.

His administration has requested more than 36 million dollars for the contras this year, but legislators are showing a growing opposition to the request's approval.

Responding to Reagan's radio address, Congressman Richard Gephardt (Dem., Maine) said that those who had unleashed the war in Central America were now claiming that more bombs could pave the way to peace.

But, he said, the truth was that the administration had never sought a peace settlement in the region.

'Contingency Plans' for Aid

LD311455 Moscow TASS in English 1400 GMT 31 Jan 88

[Text] Washington January 31 TASS—According to the newspaper MIAMI HERALD, the Reagan administration has prepared contingency plans which, in particular, provide for continuing financial support for the contras through foreign governments if the Congress fails to approve allocation of 36 million dollars for these purposes.

The newspaper reminds that the same tactics were used by Oliver North in 1986 when the Congress ban was circumvented to give aid to contras. The President intends to continue giving aid to the contras no matter what happens, the newspaper and unidentified official of the administration said.

Knowledge of 'Shadowing' Operations Denied

LD301215 Moscow TASS in English 1146 GMT 30 Jan 88

[Text] Washington January 30 TASS—TASS correspondent Igor Ignatiyev reports:

The White House denied on Friday its being in the know about a broad scale operation of shadowing dissident Americans for a few years by the Federal Bureau of Investigation.

According to confidential documents that were recently received by the center for constitutional rights under a suit in court, FBI agents were actively shadowing in a period from 1981 to 1985 more than 180 public, religious and anti-war organizations protesting against the Reagan administration's policy in Central America. As was asserted on Friday by Assistant to the President for Press Relations Marlin Fitzwater, nobody in the White House or the National Security Council was to any extent involved in, connected with or informed about that FBI operation. But the President's close friend, U.S. Attorney General Edwin Meese who has the FBI formally accountable to him and who is frequently invited for meetings of the National Security Council, said on Thursday that he knew about the shadowing program and in the past received reports on its course.

According to declassified documents, the operation which was conducted under the pretext of investigating "terroristic activity", was sanctioned and directed from the Washington headquarters of the FBI which was at that period headed by William Webster, now the CIA director. A detailed study of over 1,200 declassified pages from the FBI's file, the newspaper WASHINGTON POST says, shows that many local branches of that agency interpreted in too broad a way their right to investigate activities of dissidents.

Lawyers from the center for constitutional rights note that the door for abuses by intelligence agencies was opened by Decree Number 12333 which was signed by President Reagan in 1981 and which actually sanctioned broad scale operations of shadowing Americans, even if they are not suspected of law violation. The growing scandal around the disclosure of the FBI's secret operation of persecuting dissidents obviously gave rise to concern of the White House.

Marlin Fitzwater stated that President Reagan felt concern over such practices of persecuting Americans for their political convictions and demanded a report from William Sessions, the present FBI director. But he declined to give a direct answer to the question about the date the report was to be submitted. On Thursday, U.S. Attorney General Edwin Meese, FBI Director William Sessions were already discussing that matter with Head of the White House Staff Howard Baker and the President's legal adviser.

REUTERS Cited on Planned Delta Launch

PM011055 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 1 Feb 88 Morning Edition p 3

[Unattributed report: "Launch Planned"]

[Text] The Delta launcher is ready to carry into orbit objects which will be used during "Star Wars" experiments, REUTERS has reported, citing U.S. Defense Department sources. Delta will place in low orbit several small objects simulating the enemy's missiles. The precise date of the launch is being kept a strict secret although Air Force spokesmen have reported that it will take place in the next 2 months.

U.S. Alfa Chemical Laser Test 'Put Off'

LD292059 Moscow TASS in English 2016 GMT 29 Jan 88

[Text] Washington January 29 TASS—The first test for chemical use of the Alfa chemical laser with a capacity of two million watts, which is being developed within the "Star Wars" programme, was put off. The reason is a fire which broke out in a workshop of the TRW company in California. According to a Pentagon spokesman, no damage was inflicted on the laser by the fire. But a decision was taken not to carry out the test for some time, the Pentagon representative pointed out.

The Alfa chemical laser running on hydrogen fluoride is regarded by the Pentagon as the main space-based laser and has been developed for 10 years. A new date of its test will be announced after a complete investigation of the accident.

U.S.-Soviet Student Exchanges To Be Expanded

LD290928 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 2340 GMT 28 Jan 88

[Excerpt] Washington, 29 Jan (TASS)—TASS correspondent Igor Borisenko reports:

Expanding the scale of student exchanges between the United States and the USSR is the aim set in a joint communique signed here on Thursday by the U.S. "Citizen Exchange Corps" and a delegation from the Student Council of the USSR. Direct links between the higher education establishments in the two countries are to be set up within the framework of this program. Ten educational establishments will be participating in the exchanges in the first phase on each side, including Moscow State University and the universities of Vilnius and Kiev, Yale, Stanford, and Harvard and the universities of the states of Texas, Maine, and North Carolina. [passage omitted]

U.S. Student Delegation Visits Kiev, Dushanbe

PM281437 Moscow KOMSOMOLSKAYA PRAVDA in Russian 24 Jan 88 p 3

[Report by "our correspondent" A. Savinov: "Organizing Links"]

[Text] Kiev—Many young Americans are changing their minds about the Soviet Union and are advocating stronger cooperation and the organization of links between the Soviet and U.S. peoples. This was stated by representatives of a delegation from the U.S. youth organization United Campuses to Prevent Nuclear War, who visited our country at the invitation of the USSR Student Council. The guests, including teachers and students of four U.S. universities, visited the capitals of two union republics—Dushanbe and Kiev. There were meetings with students from various VUZ's in these cities, during which they discussed the present state of Soviet-American relations and youth initiatives aimed at improving the international atmosphere and protecting world peace. It was noted, in particular, that the Soviet-American summit accords reached in December 1987 in Washington, have met with ardent approval and contribute to the further strengthening of cooperation between our countries' youth and student organizations.

U.S. Couple Granted Asylum Interviewed
LD291618 Moscow TASS in English 1453 GMT 29 Jan 88

[Text] Moscow January 29 TASS—Theodore and Cheryl Branch, the American married couple recently granted political asylum in the Soviet Union, said they had chosen this country because of a breakdown of justice in the United States.

Speaking in an interview with TASS correspondents Aleksandr Mizinov and Mikhail Svetlichniy, they explained: "The reason we're here is that law and order are completely gone in the United States."

Late last year the Branches came to the USSR as tourists from Erie, Pennsylvania, and expressed unwillingness to return to the United States. The Presidium of the Supreme Soviet (parliament) of the USSR has met their request for permission to stay here as political emigrants.

Both Branches had worked at a commercial radio station at Mount Dora, Florida, but had to leave it after a conflict with the management, without being allowed even to collect their unpaid wages.

They filed a law suit and the court's judgement was in their favor, but the station's owners still refused to pay them, claiming they had no money.

Appeals to state authorities and then to the Department of Labor in Washington proved of no avail either. "They said that since we had initiated a civil suit on our own, they could do nothing to help us collect it (pay check), but originally they told us they wouldn't do anything anyway," Ted said.

Cheryl added the family budget was ruined by the large financial loss they had incurred, including expenses involved in defending their case in court.

"How can one feel secure in such a country where you can't even depend on collecting your own pay checks? Imagine you are in a difficulty and have been trying to get money for seven months. All this time you have property you hope to sell, but then, very suddenly, without proper notice, all the rights are taken from your property. So you're apt to say: 'What next?'," she added.

The Branches encountered further bureaucratic callousness when, having found themselves without money, they decided to sell their land plot but couldn't do that as the authorities said it was in a flood plain and building on it was prohibited. The Branches hadn't been warned about that when buying the estate, but they still didn't get any monetary compensation.

Their decision to emigrate was prompted by their realization of the social insecurity of people in American society, with millions of people being homeless, the middle class being forced into financial ruin, the rich getting richer and the poor getting poorer.

"There is no protection for the average person," said Ted.

He continued: "There are many more socialists in the United States than those who believe that they are socialists. You start talking to people and say: 'I think everybody deserves a job. I think it's up to the government to provide him with a job.' And the average person in the street will agree with that.

"You say: 'Everybody deserves adequate medical care, and they will agree with you. Just about everything you say that represents socialism, they agree with you.

"But then you say: 'Are you a real socialist?' and they say: 'No.' That's what we used to say, too, but we discovered that in truth, we actually are socialists and socialism is a fairer system and more democratic.

"In the United States five percent of the people have 90 percent of the wealth. Now, that's not democracy. A government acting in the interest of a minority rather than a majority—is this democracy?"

The Branches wrote in their letter to the Supreme Soviet that they believed socialism offered real opportunities for all people in society.

Had they thought of the possible difficulties they might find in the Soviet Union? Even if there were difficulties, they couldn't be even compared with the misfortunes that had befallen them in the United States, Ted said.

His wife added: "The only actual problem I can see is the language."

Ted's mother Lavern Branch said in an interview with CBS Television that if her son was happy, that was all she wanted. Let him live where he would have food, clothes and a home, she added.

The TASS correspondents were told at the Executive Committee of the Soviet Red Cross Society that the Branches would be given an apartment and jobs in their fields of training.

Southeast Asia & Pacific

Sihanouk Resigns From Khmer Coalition

LD301304 Moscow TASS in English 1239 GMT 30 Jan 88

[Text] Paris January 30 TASS—Prince Norodom Sihanouk said in Beijing that he quits the three-party Khmer Coalition grouping representatives of the nationalist forces which come out against the Government of the People's Republic of Kampuchea. Simultaneously, he stepped down from the post of the president of the so-called Democratic Kampuchea, FRANCE PRESSE reported.

According to Norodom Sihanouk, the Son Sann Nationalist group treats him with extreme animosity. Therefore, he withdraws from the anti-government coalition and his decision is final. "There is irreconcilable ideological and personal incompatibility and enmity among the representatives of the three factions of this coalition," he said in the FRANCE PRESSE interview. Pressure from outside is being constantly exerted on them. Starting today, I will live as a private person."

At the same time, Norodom Sihanouk noted that having become a private person, he has no right to continue negotiations on national reconciliation with the leadership of the People's Republic of Kampuchea.

FRANCE PRESSE points out that among all the leaders of the anti-government group Prince Norodom Sihanouk was the only politician who enjoyed definite authority on the international scene.

Hun Sen, Sihanouk Differences Described

OW301605 Moscow International Service in Mandarin 0100 GMT 28 Jan 88

[Text] According to a report filed by our station reporter (Khazanov), the results of the second meeting in suburban Paris between Hun Sen, prime minister of the People's Republic of Kampuchea, and Prince Sihanouk have enjoyed general support in Cambodia. Naturally, a general support does not mean that everyone warmly supports such results. Actually we cannot expect that everyone will warmly support such results, because the second meeting between Hun Sen and Sihanouk was much more complicated than the first meeting held in December last year.

We would like to point out: During the first meeting, the two leaders just got acquainted with each other, and laid down the general principle for addressing the Cambodian issues, while during the second meeting they discussed the various specific issues. It is known to all that the two sides differed widely with regard to these issues.

First of all, there are issues concerning the date for the withdrawal of the Vietnamese volunteer army from Cambodia and the conditions for the establishment of the coalition government. We must also point out that during the Hun Sen-Sihanouk meeting, the two sides had reached unanimous agreement on the other three topics on the agenda. The Cambodian Prime Minister maintained that these issues are fundamental. They are the foundation of Cambodia's future political system. This system is able to ensure the activities of different parties in the country and to develop the principle of building an independent, neutral and non-aligned Cambodia. Also, there existed issues with regard to international assurance and supervision over the implementation of any agreement reached.

Now let us return to our main subject—the differences between the two sides. The People's Republic of Cambodia came to a compromise. It recommended that the Vietnamese troops withdraw from Cambodia two years after the two conflicting sides have reached an agreement. Sihanouk advocated an earlier date for the withdrawal of the Vietnamese troops, although he clearly knows that the main obstacle on this issue is the presence of numerous armed Pol Pot elements who remain hostile to the present Cambodian government. The two sides agree to continue discussing this issue.

On the issue of establishing the future coalition government, the Cambodian Government recommends that a general election be held under effective international supervision, and a coalition government be established on the basis of the results of this election. However, Sihanouk suggests that the present government be disbanded and that a coalition government be established first, and then an election be held. The stand adopted by the People's Republic of Kampuchea is most realistic and fair-minded. The possibility also exists of agreement upon a certain compromise such as the establishment of a tripartite provisional coalition government composed of the three sides that had actually participated in the talks.

As of now, Prime Minister Hun Sen and Sihanouk will meet again. The next meeting will be held in Pyongyang. The Cambodian people hope that the next meeting will become an important step in the march toward national harmony.

Soviet-Cambodian Economic Agreements Signed

LD302336 Moscow TASS in English 1904 GMT 30 Jan 88

[Text] Pnom Penh January 30 TASS—Several contracts to carry out inter-government Soviet-Kampuchean agreements on rendering free assistance to Kampuchea in implementing measures on scientific and technical cooperation till 1990 were signed in the capital of People's Kampuchea today. These documents provide for carrying on in the next few years survey work by Soviet and Kampuchean organizations in geology, the power industry, public health and agriculture.

Of special importance for the Kampuchean side will be realization of a contract on soil explorations over an area of 150,000 hectares to use these lands for hevea [as received] plantations. Provision is made for work of a joint integrated expedition to assess oil and gas reserves in the country. A geological map of the country's entire territory will be compiled. It will be used as the basis for geological and mineralogical explorations. This will give a chance for starting commercial development of gold, precious stones, phosphates and other minerals.

Protocols to Rarotonga Treaty Ratified

LD291714 Moscow TASS in English 1637 GMT 29 Jan 88

[Text] Moscow January 29 TASS—The Presidium of the USSR Supreme Soviet today ratified protocols 2 and 3 to the Treaty on a Nuclear-Free Zone in the southern Pacific (Rarotonga Treaty) signed on behalf of the USSR on December 15, 1986.

Near East & South Asia

Saudi Foreign Minister Holds Talks In Moscow

Meets With Shevardnadze

LD291935 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 1808 GMT 29 Jan 88

[Text] Moscow, 29 Jan (TASS)—Eduard Shevardnadze, member of the CPSU Central Committee Politburo and USSR foreign minister, met today with Saudi Foreign Minister Sa'ud al-Faysal, who arrived in the Soviet Union as the special representative of King Fahd ibn 'Abd al-'Aziz of Saudi Arabia, the current chairman of the Arab States' Gulf Cooperation Council.

During a substantive exchange of views in which both sides demonstrated great interest in each other's positions, E.A. Shevardnadze explained the Soviet leadership's view of the present world situation and the prospects for its development. He stressed the Soviet Union's determination to work for a radical change in world affairs and a restructuring of international relations on the basis of the assertion of the principles of a nonviolent world without nuclear weapons. The deepening of that process will positively influence the solution of regional conflicts. The Soviet Union resolutely stands for ending the deadlock there by political means while accounting for the legitimate interests of all states and peoples.

S. al-Faysal spoke about the decisions of the extraordinary session of the Arab League Council regarding the mass demonstrations by Palestinians in the Israeli-occupied Arab lands. Referring to instructions from the conference of the heads of states belonging to the Cooperation Council, held in Riyadh on 26-29 December 1987, he described the organization's assessment of the state of affairs regarding the settlement of the Iran-Iraq conflict.

The Saudi foreign minister spoke highly of the principled position of the Soviet Union on the Palestinian issue, which is a key factor in a Near East settlement. He welcomed the proposal of the Soviet Union, which had been submitted in a letter to UN Secretary General Perez de Cuellar, that consultations begin for the purpose of preparing and setting in motion the mechanism for an international conference on the Near East and that their conclusions and recommendations be considered, with account being taken of the particular importance of this matter, at an official sitting of the Security Council with the participation of foreign ministers.

The ministers subjected the situation surrounding the Iran-Iraq war to an all-round analysis, and expressed deep concern at the lack of real movement toward its speediest halting. They pointed out that UN Security Council Resolution 598 remains a basis for reaching a political solution to the conflict. The two sides spoke in favor of efforts to fully translate it into effect, including the drawing up, if needed, of a new Security Council decision. The importance was noted of a more effective utilization of the UN'S possibilities for seeking a peaceful settlement to the conflict.

E.A. Shevardnadze drew the Saudi foreign minister's attention to the Soviet Union's ideas aimed at improving the situation in the Persian Gulf and at establishing a UN naval force. In the convinced view of the Soviet side, these ideas would not only solve the problem of the safety of shipping, but would also lead to the creation of a new political atmosphere favorable to the search for accords on settling the conflict between Iran and Iraq.

E.A. Shevardnadze spoke about new features in the Afghanistan situation and around it and noted the importance of steps being undertaken by the leadership of the Republic of Afghanistan to achieve national reconciliation in that country. S. al-Faysal expressed understanding for the efforts aimed at settling the situation around Afghanistan and welcomed the Soviet Government's decision to withdraw the limited contingent of Soviet forces from Afghanistan.

The participants in the conversation noted with satisfaction the closeness and, in many cases, the concurrence of the two countries' positions on key international problems.

The ministers noted the importance and usefulness of the meeting which had taken place, during which a wide range of issues of mutual interest were analyzed, and spoke in favor of an expansion of political contacts between the Soviet Union and Saudi Arabia.

Meets With Gromyko

LD292109 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 1917 GMT 29 Jan 88

[Text] Moscow, 29 Jan (TASS)—In the Kremlin today Andrey Gromyko, member of the CPSU Central Committee Politburo and chairman of the USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium, received Prince Sa'ud ibn Faysal, Saudi Arabian minister of foreign affairs, who is in Moscow as the special envoy of King Fahd ibn 'Abd al-'Aziz of Saudi Arabia, chairman of the Gulf Cooperation Council.

The high-ranking guest was accompanied by Prince Bandar ibn Sultan ibn 'Abd al-'Aziz, Saudi Arabian ambassador to the United States; Hasan al-Shawwaf, general director of the Chancellery of the Saudi Arabian Ministry of Foreign Affairs; and Ahmad Mu'minah and Nizar Madani, departmental chiefs of the Saudi Arabian Ministry of Foreign Affairs. Taking part in the meeting from the Soviet side were Yu.M. Vorontsov, first deputy USSR minister of foreign Affairs, and V.P. Polyakov, chief of the Near Eastern and North African Directorate of the USSR Ministry of Foreign Affairs.

Prince Sa'ud ibn Faysal handed A.A. Gromyko two messages from the Saudi king addressed to the Soviet leadership. The minister said that one of the messages was devoted to the problem of ending the Iran-Iraq war. The situation in the Persian Gulf region disturbs all the coastal countries, is leading to instability and is fraught with the danger of exploding.

Resolution 598 of the UN Security Council is a valuable document. Its significance lies in the fact that it contains clauses which stipulate the paths toward its fulfillment.

However, Tehran has no intention of fulfilling it. Iran continues to pose a threat to navigation in the Persian Gulf. The Arab countries feel that it is perhaps again necessary to discuss the actions of Iran at a session of the Security Council and to adopt a decision. The minister is in Moscow in order to prepare such a decision. He will then travel on to Washington.

The minister reported that the participants in the conference of heads of state of the Gulf Cooperation Council member states in December 1987 in Riyadh appealed for an acceleration of international efforts aimed at rapidly ending the Iran-Iraq war. He spoke in favor of intensifying interaction between the Soviet Union and the Arab Gulf states in tackling this problem.

The second message concerned the Palestinian problem and the situation in the Arab territories occupied by Israel. The world is witnessing an uprising by the Arab population, and Israel will never convince anyone that the Palestinians accept the occupation. The situation is evolving in such a way that the Arab people of Palestine are taking their destiny into their own hands.

Quite recently a meeting of the Arab League Council was held in Tunis at the foreign ministerial level. The meeting adopted a decision to strive for a peaceful settlement in the Near East by convening an international conference on that problem.

On behalf of all Arab states the minister passed on feelings of respect toward the Soviet Union and a high assessment of the role which it is playing in the struggle for peace. Striving for a peace settlement in the Near East, the Arab states would also like the Palestinians' sacrifices not to be in vain, and for peace to be established in that region on a just basis.

Touching on the Iran-Iraq war, A.A. Gromyko stated that the Soviet Union has already frequently expressed to Iran and Iraq its clear point of view that the war between those countries is one of the greatest anomalies in the contemporary world.

The USSR views with understanding the fact that in the Arab states there is great alarm over this war. We value the fact that you are again posing the question of its conclusion on behalf of the Arab states. Many countries have now come to understand this. The main thing is to halt the conflict and conclude the war without any preconditions. It was precisely this point of view which enabled the Security Council to find a formula acceptable to all its members.

Iran has taken a different position, and the resolution still remains unfulfilled. The alarm of the Arab states and their desire for the Iran-Iraq war to be halted meets, of course, with our full understanding. The Soviet Union continues to be prepared to contribute to working out decisions which will promote an end to the war. We stress the immutability of the USSR's position with regard to the need for a political settlement to the Iran-Iraq conflict and for the resolution of all contentious issues at the negotiating table.

Regarding your message on the Palestinian issue, A.A.Gromyko said, the Soviet Union's position is well known to you and to the whole world. What is going on in the Arab territories occupied by Israel is also well known. The blood of Palestinians is being shed there virtually every day. The Soviet Union believes that the most realistic way of solving the Near East conflict is to summon a relevant international conference. We think that it is time to set up a preparatory committee for such a conference. This idea meets with the understanding of the overwhelming majority of the countries of the world.

The Soviet people angrily condemn the campaign of terror which has been unleashed by Israel against the Palestinian population on the West Bank of the Jordan River and in the Gaza Strip. The use of force against the unarmed population, illegal arrests, and the flouting of the human dignity of the Palestinians are nothing other than a crude challenge thrown out by Israel to the UN resolutions.

Very recently a letter from USSR Foreign Minister E.A.Shevardnadze, in which the Soviet Union's position on the subject of an international conference on the Near East was set out, was sent to the UN Security Council.

Sa'ud al-Faysal: At the session of the Arab League council we adopted a document in which we supported the ideas put forward in the letter.

A.A.Gromyko: The experience of international life shows that one should be reminded more often about the Soviet Union's good proposal.

When discussing in general the situation in the Near East, A.A.Gromyko stated the Soviet Union's resolute support for the struggle of the Arabs for securing their legitimate interests and implementing the inalienable national rights of the Palestinian people to self-determination.

Mutual confidence was expressed in the Security Council, which has at its disposal both high prestige and the possibility of enforcing a settlement in the Near East.

On behalf of the Gulf Cooperation Council, the Saudi representative conveyed gratitude to the Soviet Union for its invariable support for the just strivings of the Arab people.

The sides expressed their satisfaction with the way contacts between the USSR and Saudi Arabia are developing and also expressed full confidence in their successful continuation.

The Saudi minister conveyed greetings to M.S.Gorbachev on behalf of King Fahd ibn 'Abd al-'Aziz of Saudi Arabia and his wishes of well-being to the Soviet people.

The conversation passed in a relaxed and friendly atmosphere.

Interviewed Before Departure

LD301830 Moscow International Service in Arabic 1530 GMT 30 Jan 88

[Text] [Announcer] Prince Sa'ud al-Faysal, the foreign minister of Saudi Arabia, left Moscow this morning after his working visit in the Soviet Union. Prior to his departure, his highness Prince Sa'ud al-Faysal talked to our correspondent Sergey Krylov.

[Begin recording] [Krylov] Your excellency, Mr Minister. Now, at the end of your visit to the Soviet Union, what are your feelings and impressions on leaving the Soviet land, and what is your assessment of the results of your talks in Moscow?

[Sa'ud al-Faysal] There were very beneficial discussions held in an excellent atmosphere. I had the honor to meet his excellency the president yesterday morning, and his excellency the foreign minister, to whom I conveyed two messages from the Custodian of the Two Holy Mosques and president of the Arab summit conference [as heard] concerning two central Middle East issues. The first was related to the Palestinian cause and the Palestinian uprising in the occupied territories, and the second was related to the Iran-Iraq war.

I think that the talks took place in a positive and useful atmosphere regarding the two issues, and there was an identity in the two countries' views concerning several aspects of the issues discussed—mainly those in connection with these two issues—and concerning the endeavor to support the Palestinian uprising, leading, as it did before, to open prospects for a peaceful solution ensuring the legitimate rights of the Palestinians. We were very satisfied at what we heard concerning the Soviet Union's stand related to this issue, and the effort it will exert to develop an international stand aimed at backing the legitimate rights of the Palestinian people through an international conference.

I also had the opportunity to submit the results of the recent Arab League meeting and the Arab efforts to this effect, primarily regarding the formation of a committee which will follow up this situation and which will carry out contacts with countries about the Palestinian issue.

As for the Iran-Iraq war, I think that we were pleased at the identity of views toward endeavors to end this conflict, which has lasted for such a long period. Its painful consequences underline the need to end this war as soon as possible. The real framework for settling this issue is implementation of Resolution No 598. Our views were identical, and my conclusion is that we are very satisfied at this visit and with the discussions. I think that the talks took place in a useful and positive atmosphere, and led to fruitful results.

[Krylov] I thank you, your highness the prince. As for bilateral relations, do you think that these relations, or the talks which took place in Moscow, have a certain importance for the two countries and the Arab region?

[Sa'ud al-Faysal] The two sides expressed their satisfaction at the increase of contacts between the two sides. These contacts are naturally fruitful for us, because the Soviet Union plays a great and important role on the international scene. As a superpower, it shoulders many responsibilities regarding issues which concern us: The issues of peace and security in the world in general, and issues related to our region, such as the Palestinian issue and the Iran-Iraq war in particular.

We expressed pleasure at our contacts with officials in the Soviet Union which enabled us to assess their stands and to explain the issues concerning us in our region. I think that the leaders we met, such as his excellency the president, his excellency the foreign minister, and the other officials, were satisfied at the progress of these contacts.

[Krylov] Thank you very much. [end recording]

'Coincidence of Views'

LD011159 Moscow TASS in English 1136 GMT 1 Feb 88

[Text] Moscow February 1 TASS—By a TASS diplomatic correspondent:

Meetings and talks in Moscow between Soviet leaders and Saudi Minister of Foreign Affairs Prince Sa'ud al-Faysal, a special envoy of King Fahd, revealed the coincidence of views between the Soviet Union and Saudi Arabia on ways of settling the situation in the Persian Gulf and the Middle East.

Having condemned the campaign of terror unleashed by Tel Aviv against the Palestinian population on the occupied Arab territories and classified Israeli policy there as a challenge to the world community and defiance of U.N. decisions, the sides favoured the earliest solution of the key, Palestinian problem of the Middle East settlement and, in these conditions, intensification of efforts to convene an international Middle East conference. The urgent need was stressed for a special meeting of the U.N. Security Council at the level of foreign ministers to discuss questions, connected with this.

The talks in Moscow showed that the positions of the Soviet Union and the countries of the cooperation council for the Arab states of the Gulf, whose chairman is King Fahd of Saudi Arabia, were similar with regard to ways of ending the Iraq-Iran war. This is possible if Resolution 598 of the U.N. Security Council was implemented in full and a new decision of the council was drafted, if need be. Importance was noted of a more effective use of U.N. possibilities in a search for the peaceful settlement of the conflict.

Diplomatic circles in Moscow believe that on the whole the visit by Prince Sa'ud al-Faysal demonstrated an increase in bilateral contacts. The exchange of views revealed the optimism of the USSR and Saudi Arabia on the nascent new tendencies in world affairs, based on the fresh and realistic appraisal of the state and tasks of the present day.

Shevardnadze Reportedly Invited

JN311804 Abu Dhabi AL-ITTIHAD in Arabic 30 Jan 88 pp 1, 8

[Excerpt] Moscow—AL-ITTIHAD and news agencies—Saudi Foreign Minister Prince Sa'ud al-Faysal's talks with his Soviet counterpart, Eduard Shevardnadze, have focused on the issue of resuming diplomatic relations between the two parties. Reliable sources have informed AL-ITTIHAD that the Saudi side has invited Shevardnadze to visit Saudi Arabia to discuss this issue. The invitation was extended during a session that lasted 4 and 1/2 hours.

The two sides devoted the largest portion of their important talks to discussing the situation in the Arabian Gulf, the Afghan issue, and developments in the Iraq-Iran war. Soviet sources said that the two sides had agreed on several points with regard to the implementation of Resolution 598. They also agreed on "international emergency forces to protect shipping in the Gulf if necessary". [passage omitted]

Departs Moscow

LD301056 Moscow TASS in English 1029 GMT 30 Jan 88

[Text] Moscow January 30 TASS—Prince Sa'ud al-Faysal, foreign minister of Saudi Arabia, today left the Soviet Union where he was staying on a working visit.

At the airport he was seen off by Yuliy Vorontsov, first deputy foreign minister of the USSR, and other officials.

Jordan's King Husayn Criticizes U.S. Policy

LD292253 Moscow TASS in English 2237 GMT 29 Jan 88

[Text] Washington January 29 TASS—King Husayn of Jordan has criticized the Middle East policy of the Reagan administration in connection with the continuing massive unrest of Palestinians in Israeli-occupied Arab lands. In an interview with the WASHINGTON POST published today the head of the Hashemite Kingdom of Jordan accused the Washington Administration of being fully under the influence of extremists in Israel. And this influence is enormous, he added.

U.S. Has 'No Interest' in Genuine Mideast Peace

LD301931 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 1355 GMT 30 Jan 88

[Text] Moscow, 30 Jan (TASS)—TASS commentator O. Zuyenkov writes:

The recent dramatic development of events in the Near East shows clearly that this region's chronic problems demand an urgent solution. It could be worked out by a plenipotentiary conference with the participation of the five states which are permanent members of the UN Security Council and all the parties involved in the conflict, including the PLO.

The idea of calling such a conference has been approved by the UN General Assembly and has received virtually universal support in the Arab world. In particular, such prominent Arab state political figures as H. al-Asad, president of the Syrian Arab Republic, Husayn, king of Jordan, and H. Mubarak, president of Egypt, have repeatedly spoken out in favor. During his tour of Western Europe and the United States, the Egyptian president stressed that the summoning of a conference has become a necessity and cannot be postponed any longer because the absence of peace in the Near East is fraught with danger for all countries of the region.

People in Washington have at last begun to favor such a conference, but with reservations that make it clear that they want a forum that will sanction a policy of separate deals throughout the region, instead of seeking a way of establishing a genuine and just peace there. Israel's Prime Minister Y. Shamir, who totally rejects the idea of holding an international conference on the Middle East, had good reason to declare in an interview with Israeli radio today: "The policy that is being pursued by the U.S. Administration differs in no way from my government's policy."

In fact, even today, when Tel Aviv has unleashed unprecedented repression in the occupied Arab territories, which are ablaze with a national uprising, the United States continues to provide it with every support. This policy is determined both by U.S. "strategic interests" in the Middle East and by the presence in Washington of a powerful Zionist lobby, which has to be taken into account, particularly in a presidential election year. In these circumstances the United States has no interest in a genuine Middle East peace settlement or, consequently, in an international conference that might open up the path toward one.

Hawatimah Leads DFLP Delegation to Moscow

JN301225 Paris Radio Monte Carlo in Arabic 1200 GMT 29 Jan 88

[Text] A DFLP delegation led by Nayif Hawatimah arrived in Moscow today at the invitation of the CPSU Central Committee. The DFLP delegation is scheduled to hold official talks with Soviet officials.

In addition to Nayif Hawatimah the DFLP delegation includes Yasir 'Abd Rabbuh, DFLP assistant secretary general and PLO Executive Committee member and head of the PLO Information Department, and DFLP Political Bureau members Salih Ra'fat and Abu Layla.

Supreme Soviet Delegation Departs for Iraq

LD311416 Moscow TASS in English 1256 GMT 31 Jan 88

[Text] Moscow January 31 TASS—AT the invitation of the National Assembly of the Republic of Iraq, a delegation of the USSR Supreme Soviet, led by Gaybnazar Pallayev, vice president of the USSR Supreme Soviet, left Moscow for Baghdad today. Its other members include deputies Boris Kravtsov, Nikolay Lomov, and Aklim Mukhametzyanov.

Arrives in Baghdad

LD010957 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 0920 GMT 1 Feb 88

[Text] Baghdad, 1 Feb. (TASS)—A delegation of the USSR Supreme Soviet led by Gaybnazar Pallayev, deputy chairman of the USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium, has arrived in the Iraqi capital for a visit.

On arrival, G. Pallayev made a statement for the press. He announced that during the visit it is intended to discuss questions relating to the further strengthening of parliamentary ties between the Soviet Union and Iraq, and to exchange experience of the activities of the supreme electoral organs of the two countries. In addition to this, there is to be an exchange of opinions with the Iraqi side on a number of international and regional problems of mutual interest. A great deal of attention will be devoted to the Iran-Iraq conflict and the situation around it as well as to the matter of seeking ways to peacefully resolve the conflict as rapidly as possible.

Meets With Iraqi Official

LD011457 Moscow TASS in English 1443 GMT 1 Feb 88

[Text] Baghdad February 1 (TASS)—Gaybnazar Pallayev, head of a delegation of the Supreme Soviet of the USSR and vice president of the Presidium of the USSR Supreme Soviet, had a meeting here today with the Chairman of Iraq's National Council Sa'dun Hammadi.

The conversation passed in a friendly atmosphere. The sides exchanged information on the activity of their respective parliaments. The mutual striving was expressed to develop ties between the Surpreme Soviet of the USSR and the National Council of Iraq since this accords with the interests of further strengthening Soviet-Iraqi relations on the basis of the treaty of friendship and cooperation signed on April 9, 1972.

Sa'dun Hammadi welcomed the signing of the Soviet-American treaty on the elimination of intermediate-range and shorter-range missiles and stated Iraq's support for the USSR's efforts to improve the international political climate and deepen the process of detente.

When questions related to the Iran-Iraq war were discussed the head of the Soviet delegation stressed the invariable nature of the USSR's line directed at its speediest ending by political means. It was noted that Resolution 598 of the United Nations Security Council is the sole realistic basis for the attainment of a just settlement of the conflict with due account for the lawful interests of both Iran and Iraq. The Iraqi side confirmed its readiness for a peaceful settlement of the conflict.

Scholar Examines 70 Years of Soviet-Iranian Ties

PM291621 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 28 Jan 88 Morning Edition p 4

["IZVESTIYA Interview" with Doctor of Historical Sciences Salekh Mamed Ogly Aliyev, senior scientific staffer at the USSR Academy of Sciences Oriental Studies Institute, conducted by IZVESTIYA correspondent A. Ostalskiy: "Dispatch From the People's Commissariat"; first paragraph is editorial introduction; date and place not specified]

[Text] An urgent telegram arrived at the Iranian Embassy in Petrograd 14 (27) January 1918 from the young Soviet republic's People's Commissariat on Foreign Affairs . What it contained excited and delighted Iranian diplomats, but it came as a bombshell to the Western capitals. To this day this document has held a special place in the history books. Therefore, 70 years later our correspondent asked Doctor of Historical Sciences Salekh Mamed Ogly Aliyev, senior scientific staffer at the USSR Academy of Sciences Oriental Studies Institute, to describe this document.

[Aliyev] It was a statement from the Council of People's Commissars confirming that the Soviet state considered the 1907 Anglo-Russian agreement to be "dissolved once and for all" as it was "directed against the freedom and independence of the Persian people." "All agreements, both those preceding the aforementioned agreement and those succeeding, which limit or constrain in whatever respect the rights of the Persian people to a free independent existence are equally proclaimed... null and void,"—the statement stressed.

[Ostalskiy] Thus it was merely a question of annulling a few unjust agreements?

[Aliyev] No, this document was of far greater significance. It was one of the first practical embodiments of Lenin's course of establishing a just and democratic world without annexations and indemnities, a world with genuinely equitable, friendly relations between peoples. But, of course, this document played a special role in developing relations between our two countries and in the fate of Iran.

By the early 20th century Persia had effectively become a semicolony. The country's territory was an arena for struggle between tsarist Russia and England (by the beginning of World War I Germany had also intervened in this struggle). Two banks operating in the country—the English and Russian respectively—controlled the country's finances and economy. A system of extortionate concessions became widespread. Iran's dependence on imperialist states artificially constrained its socioeconomic development and condemned the popular masses to hunger and poverty. Under these conditions, the Soviet Union's abrogation of the notorious 1907 agreement, which enshrined the partitioning of Iran into spheres of influence and its further colonialization, was of truly revolutionary significance and promoted the growth of the patriotic movement in Iran.

[Ostalskiy] But at that time could people in Iran appropriately assess Soviet Russia's revolutionary new approach to relations with this country? For its ruling circles were corrupt and guided by their subordination to foreign interests and the people mistrusted and hated everything foreign. And this is not surprising if you take into consideration the many centuries of foreign interference and diktat...

[Aliyev] Yes, of course, these factors had an adverse effect and resulted in the possibilities opened up for Iran by the Soviet Government's policy not being exploited to the full. But this is what is interesting: On 30 July 1918 the Iraniann Government headed by Sam'samossoltan published an official declaration renouncing capitulationist measures and all inequitable treaties concluded by Iran with foreign states. This document began with the important words: "Proceeding on the basis that the present Government of Russia has made freedom and full independence for all peoples its ideal and the aim of its aspirations..."

Of course England, like France and the United States, refused to acknowledge the Iranian Government's declaration, and the imperialists soon secured the resignation of Sam'samossoltan from the cabinet and Iran's repudiation of this revolutionary step.

Subsequently there were still many difficulties in our relations with Iran. Iranian territory was used by the British for intervention in the Transcaucasus and in Turkestan, and the counterrevolutionaries who shot I.O. Kolomiytsev, the first official Soviet representative, hid there. But nonetheless, all Iranians with the slightest degree of honesty and realism understood the importance of the Soviet state's repudiation of the inequitable treaties with Iran. Even, for instance such a pro-shah figure as Hasan Taqizadeh admitted: "If it were not for the October Revolution in Russia, there would be no independent states in either Turkey or Iran."

Soviet-Iranian relations went through various phases. Economic ties with the USSR helped Iran in the twenties and thirties to overcome with relative ease the aftereffects of the crisis which overtook the entire capitalist world at that time. There were dramatic moments at times caused, for instance, by the interference of fascist Germany and its attempts to transform Iran into a bridgehead for aggression. In the fifties and sixties important economic agreements were signed and implemented which considerably extended the zone of Soviet-Iranian cooperation and which has always helped Iran to reinforce its independence and overcome its backwardness. There were also periods of severe coolness, as, for example, in the late fifties, when the shah's government adopted the course of participation in the "cold war" on Washington's side. But one thing remained unchanged—the Soviet Union's honest and sincere desire for friendly, equitable, and good-neighborly relations with its southern neighbor.

[Ostalskiy] What are the prospects for the achievement of this aim today?

[Aliyev] The victory in Iran of the 1978-1979 revolution and the overthrow of the shah's venal regime strengthened Iran's political independence and opened up new opportunities for an improvement in Soviet-Iranian relations. All the objective conditions—both geographical and political—exist for the successful development of Soviet-Iranian economic ties. There are also good traditions and much valuable experience.

This potential is, however, still far from being fully realized. Nor has the development of relations been a simple matter in recent years. There are also people in Iran who do not favor the consolidation of these ties. Iran's difficult political and economic situation associated with the war with Iraq is, of course, having an impact.

Our country advocates the consolidation of these ties and their development in various spheres, since it is our profound conviction that this conforms with the fundamental interests of both countries and peoples. As we look at the past today, we find instructive experience in the difficult path traversed by our countries over 70 years. It seems to me that this experience confirms that we have grounds for looking optimistically at the future of Soviet-Iranian relations.

UN's Diego Cordovez Arrives in Kabul

LD311506 Moscow TASS in English 1454 GMT 31 Jan 88

[Text] Kabul January 31 TASS—Diego Cordovez, the U.N. secretary general's personal representative, arrived in Kabul from Islamabad today. Earlier today he continued consultations with foreign minister of the Republic of Afghanistan 'Abdul Wakil in connection with preparations for resumption of indirect Afghan-Pakistani talks in Geneva.

Expansion of Economic Aid to Afghanistan

LD311746 Moscow Domestic Service in Russian 1330 GMT 31 Jan 88

[Excerpt] Aleksandr (Shkirando), our correspondent in Kabul, talks about the expanding direct contacts between Soviet republics and oblasts and Afghan provinces:

[Shkirando] The expansion of direct ties between republics and oblasts in our country and provinces in Afghanistan has become a manifestation of sincere, good-neighborly relations and of traditional ties. In conditions where the policy of national reconciliation is being implemented, the increase of international assistance by the Soviet Union in social, economic and cultural spheres is an important factor in resolving many problems. Thus the Kazakh and Tajik Socialist Republics recently handed over to the Afghan Provinces of Kandahar and Ghor, with which they have direct contacts, power units and equipment amounting to a value of R500,000 and 600,000 respectively, intended for power projects. The provinces of Parwan and Naimruz are receiving all-round assistance from Kharkov and Kherson for developing power engineering, health care, construction of dams and the Kama Khan and Lashkari canals. In addition to industrial and medical equipment, provisions and essential goods are supplied to many Afghan provinces in the form of gratis aid from our republics and oblasts. Such aid is especially needed by the Afghan areas which have long been under the control of the counterrevolutionaries or were blockaded by them, such as Khowst District. As a rule, the handing over of this aid to the Afghan population turns into a real holiday. [passage omitted]

Briefs

Soviet-Algerian Youth Agreement

Two documents have been signed by the Algerian National Youth Union and the Komsomol, the Soviet communist youth, in Moscow: a cooperation plan for 1988-90, and a joint statement which deals with the main current international events, the Gulf and the Middle East conflicts, where the principled positions of the two organizations were particularly reaffirmed. [Text] [Algiers Domestic Service in French 1800 GMT 29 Jan 88 LD]

East Europe

Further Reportage on Fischer's Moscow Visit

Toast at Shevardnadze Dinner

AU281701 East Berlin NEUES DEUTSCHLAND in German 27 Jan 88 p 3

[Toast by Oskar Fischer, GDR minister of foreign affairs, at dinner given in his honor by his Soviet counterpart Eduard Shevardnadze in Moscow on 26 January: "Joint Peace Program Bears First Fruits"]

[Text] Dear Comrade Eduard Shevardnadze, dear comrades and friends: Esteemed Eduard Amvrosiyevich, it is nice to be back in Moscow, the center of revolutionary struggle for lasting peace in the world, for an exchange of views and to discuss with you and other fellow fighters in a trusting manner the further joint actions aimed at strengthening socialism and safeguarding peace. I would like to thank you warmly for the friendly reception and the moving words with which you paid tribute to the fraternal cooperation between our parties, states, and peoples.

People are looking into the future with increased optimism. This is above all due to the Soviet Union's approach, which is bold and full of initiative, to the solution of mankind's problems. People build their hopes for a real change in international events on its dynamic foreign policy. The results of the summit in December between Mikhail Gorbachev, CPSU Central Committee general secretary, and U.S. President Ronald Reagan, are a real gain for peace and the whole of mankind.

Historic Step Toward a World Without Nuclear Weapons [subhead]

The Treaty on the Elimination of their Intermediate- and Shorter-Range Nuclear Missiles makes possible a start to nuclear disarmament, the first, and therefore historic step toward the establishment of a nuclear-free world. As Erich Honecker, SED Central Committee general secretary and GDR State Council chairman, stressed, it is "a victory of the kind needed by the world today, not a victory for weapons, but a victory against weapons, a victory for reason and realism."

We can rightly state that the joint peace program of the Warsaw Pact member states is bearing its first fruits. With its acting and thinking corresponding to the realities of the nuclear space age, the USSR has a pioneering role in this. Together with the allied states the GDR has played its part that the "double zero option" was agreed.

Now it is directing its efforts toward a speedy ratification and strict implementation. The trilateral agreement between the USSR, the GDR, and CSSR, as well as the agreement between the GDR and the United States on the carrying out of inspections on GDR territory, which were signed in December, testify to this.

But in spite of these achievements we do not overlook the fact that influential circles within NATO are demanding the countering of the agreed disarmament by increased arms buildup in other spheres.

For the Extension of Nuclear Disarmament to Other Spheres [subhead]

Our alliance's stance is quite different. On 11 December of this year in Berlin the leading representatives unanimously called for further immediate disarmament steps, thus getting the utmost gain for peace. The readiness of the USSR, the GDR, and CSSR to remove the operational and tactical missiles from the GDR and CSSR before the treaty comes into force formally, is in line with this. The world needs such signals.

The present-day international developments encourage us in our efforts to change the situation in Europe for the better. With this aim in mind, Erich Honecker has appealed to FRG chancellor Helmut Kohl not merely to do everything for speedy implementation of the agreement on the Elimination of the Soviet and U.S. Intermediate- and Shorter-Range Missiles, but also to help work for the extension of nuclear disarmament in Europe to other areas. Efforts for a drastic reduction in conventional armed forces and armaments and for the elimination of chemical weapons should be intensified to achieve this. The joint proposals of the GDR and the CSSR for the creation of a nuclear-free corridor and a chemical-weapons-free zone in central Europe, as well as for the prevention of surprise attacks, become still more topical in this light. Their speedy implementation would have a favorable effect on the processes introduced, and stimulate the conclusion of global regulations. This also applies to the GDR-initiated meeting of political representatives from all continents who are working for the establishment of nuclear-free zones.

We Actively Participate in the Development of the CSCE Process [subhead]

In this we fulfill the historical obligation of the GDR to do everything to ensure war will never again start from German soil, only peace. As a reliable cornerstone of socialism and peace in the heart of Europe we work for the house of Europe to become a peaceful place of good-neighborliness. The "house rules" are based on the CSCE process in the development of which the GDR plays an active role.

Dear Comrades, on the basis of the 11th SED Congress resolutions, the GDR people are shaping the developed socialist society in a vigorous and resourceful manner. The course of the unity of economic and social policy releases the forces that are required for the further dynamic economic development. In this we concentrate on the mastering of high technologies because they are the key to the required intensification of the national economy. It is good to know that the GDR has good and reliable friends in this and that it is such a friend. Daily cooperation teaches us that we achieve the best results if we cooperate.

We Follow the Struggle of the CPSU in a Fraternal Spirit [subhead]

The CPSU and the Soviet people are making great efforts for the implementation of the 27th CPSU Congress resolutions, for the improvement of the socialist social order, and for the acceptance of the new thinking in the international arena. This is of great importance for the cause of the Red October, for the strengthening of socialism in the USSR, and for enhancing its influence on world affairs. We are deeply convinced that the CPSU and the Soviet people will succeed, with the momentum of the October days, in fully bringing to bear the advantages and driving forces inherent in socialism. With the successful mastering of the scientific-technological revolution, socialism will further increase its appeal. The path embarked on by the socialist countries assumes special importance through the further revolutionary changes in the Soviet Union.

The communists and the GDR people are following, in the spirit of internationalist alliance and with fraternal solidarity, the struggle of the CPSU in implementing restructuring and renewal, to which an active contribution is being made with the realization of the decisions of the 11th SED Congress. This was stated shortly before the end of last year by the 5th SED Central Committee Session.

Satisfaction and Pride About Results of Close Cooperation [subhead]

The purposeful deepening of the fraternal alliance with the Soviet Union and the comprehensive development of fruitful relations with the other socialist states, the steady consolidation and strengthening of the socialist community continues to be the primary task in the GDR's actions. In this the GDR also sees the pledge of its own successful development. We are full of satisfaction and pride about the important outcome that results from our close cooperation for the cause of socialism and peace. In line with the provisions agreed by Comrade Erich Honecker and Comrade Mikhail Gorbachev, the two parties and states are tackling ever more challenging tasks in their cooperation. The decisions are directed toward the accelerated development of cooperation between the ministries, combines, associations, and enterprises for the creation and application of key technologies in the interest of solving economic tasks and raising the national prosperity of the two countries.

I am certain the SED and CPSU, the GDR and the USSR, through close cooperation in all spheres of social life, will make an ever increasing contribution to strengthening socialism and peace. The tested militant alliance between the SED and CPSU will continue to strengthen, and the unshakable friendship and cooperation between our two states and peoples will bear richer and richer fruit!

Dear Comrades, I ask you to raise your glasses and drink with me

—To the well-being of the general secretaries of our parties, Comrades Erich Honecker and Mikhail Gorbachev,

—To your health, dear Eduard Amvrosiyevich, and to the well-being of all comrades and friends who are present!

ADN Reportage

LD271353 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 1226 GMT 27 Jan 88

[Text] Moscow, 27 Jan (ADN)—GDR and USSR Foreign Ministers Oskar Fischer, SED Central Committee member, and Eduard Shevardnadze, CPSU Central Committee Politburo member, conducted official negotiations in Moscow on Wednesday in an atmosphere of friendship and complete agreement. They praised the high level of relations between the two countries, which is reflected in the trusting contacts between the general secretaries of the SED and CPSU Central Committees, Erich Honecker and Mikhail Gorbachev. It was stressed that cooperation in all spheres of public life is developing increasingly closely and productively. The direct relations between combines, associations, institutions and working people are becoming increasingly numerous and wide-ranging. The ministers informed each other about the implementation of the decisions of the 11th SED Congress and the 27th CPSU Congress in the two fraternal countries.

Oskar Fischer outlined the results of the fifth plenary session of the SED Central Committee and said that the GDR is making every effort to guarantee, with the help of high technologies, dynamic and growing efficiency in the further intensification of the GDR economy.

The two sides underlined the determination of their states to continue to strengthen cooperation in the socialist community, in line with the Warsaw Pact and CEMA decisions. Coordinated action by the socialist countries continues to be the guarantor for successful progress in maintaining peace, strengthening detente and cooperation, and safeguarding disarmament. The peace offensive of socialism will be steadfastly continued.

After the conclusion of the Soviet-U.S. Treaty on the Elimination of Intermediate- and Shorter-Range Nuclear Missiles and after the start of the process of ratification in the Soviet Union, the USSR, the GDR and the other socialist countries expect this process to run a speedy course also in the United States, so that the treaty can come into force as soon as possible. The USSR foreign minister praised the contribution made by the GDR in bringing about the agreement. All states are called upon to support the ratification and to stimulate further steps toward disarmament.

The two foreign ministers underlined the need to shape the Vienna negotiations in such a way that they will turn into a success for peace, detente, and disarmament. A constructive approach is expected of the NATO states, so that a businesslike discussion reaches a mandate for negotiations hoped for by all European states on the reduction of Armed Forces and conventional armaments in Europe. Oskar Fischer and Eduard Shevardnadze supported the reaching of balanced results in all dimensions of the CSCE process.

All regional conflicts, the two men stressed, must be solved exclusively through negotiations.

This morning Oskar Fischer laid a wreath at the Lenin Mausoleum. He honored the memory of the fallen heroes of the Great Patriotic War at the Tomb of the Unknown Soldier in the Alexandergarten.

Confers With Ligachev

PM291637 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 28 Jan 88 Second Edition p 4

[TASS report: "Meeting at the CPSU Central Committee"]

[Text] On 27 January Ye.K. Ligachev, Politburo member and CPSU Central Committee secretary received O. Fischer, SED Central Committee member and GDR foreign minister, who has arrived in the Soviet Union for an official friendly visit.

In the course of a comradely conversation they exchanged information on the progress of the implementation of the decisions of the 27th CPSU Congress and the 11th SED Congress. Ye.K. Ligachev spoke about the CPSU's great organizational work in the restructuring aimed at fully revealing the opportunities and creative potential inherent in socialism. O. Fischer emphasized that the CPSU's innovative course, which is imbued with the new political thinking, and the enterprising peace-loving foreign policy of the Soviet state are meeting with approval and support in the GDR.

The constructive nature was again emphasized of the allied socialist states' peace initiatives which accord with the peoples' vital needs for a safe world and fruitful cooperation. The signing in Washington and the implementation of the Soviet-U.S. Treaty on the Elimination of Intermediate- and Shorter-Range Missiles are in keeping with these aims.

Questions of the further strengthening of collaboration between the CPSU and the SED and between the USSR and the GDR in the struggle for a nuclear-free world and for disarmament and the consolidation of the positions of socialism were touched upon.

Ye.K. Ligachev and O. Fischer expressed profound satisfaction with the ongoing development of relations between the CPSU and the SED which are based on a unity of views and actions ensuing from the principles of Marxism-Leninism and socialist internationalism. The two countries' cooperation in the political, economic, ideological, and cultural spheres represents a guarantee of the successful solution of the tasks confronting them and of further progress along the road of socialism.

The conversation passed in an atmosphere of fraternal friendship and complete mutual understanding. It was attended by V.P. Loginov, USSR deputy foreign minister, V.I. Kochemasov, USSR ambassador to the GDR, and G. Koenig, GDR ambassador to the USSR.

Meets With Gromyko

PM291150 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 29 Jan 88 Second Edition p 4

[TASS report under general heading "USSR-GDR Relations—Unity and Friendship"]

[Text] A.A. Gromyko received in the Kremlin on 28 January Oskar Fischer, SED Central Committee member and GDR foreign minister, who was in the Soviet Union on an official friendly visit.

During the conversation, which took place in an atmosphere of fraternal friendship, certain very important questions of present-day international relations were examined.

The high-ranking guest stressed that since the signing of the Soviet-U.S. Treaty on the Elimination of Intermediate- and Shorter-range Missiles the world looks different. That event is exerting a tremendous influence on the development of international relations, in Europe and elsewhere, and in particular on the links between the two German states. The peoples have gained more hope of strengthening peace.

O. Fischer gave a high assessment of the meetings and talks he has had during this visit to Moscow.

A.A. Gromyko noted that the Soviet Union regards the forthcoming ratification of the Soviet-U.S. treaty signed during M.S. Gorbachev's visit to Washington as an act which will have exceptionally great significance.

We hope, he stated, that the United States too will adopt a responsible attitude to the implementation of this legislative procedure. We also hope for a positive outcome to the Soviet-U.S. talks in Geneva on the question of a 50% reduction in strategic offensive arms. The Soviet side will strive to ensure that the results of these talks lead to success. It is up to the U.S. side.

At the same time, in the Soviet Union's opinion, elements of moderation and a certain easing of relations have been introduced into the USSR's ties with a number of West European states. True, certain politicians still make statements to the effect that it is hardly appropriate to take new steps toward rapprochement with the East at present.

A.A. Gromyko dwelled on the problem of the Near East, which remains an explosive hotbed. Here the main force barring the path to the relaxation of tension is the United States and its partner—Israel. The Arab countries correctly understand the position of the Soviet Union and the other socialist countries on the question of a Near East settlement. This position is firm and long-term, and takes into account the full complexity of the mosaic of relations in the region. It is oriented toward the convening of an international conference on the Near East with the participation of the five permanent members of the UN Security Council and all parties directly interested in resolving this conflict, including the PLO.

We are in favor of a peaceful settlement in Central Amercia and support in every way the Republic of Nicaragua and the whole "Contadora process." Recent reports indicate that the U.S. Administration is again asking Congress for major appropriations for aid to the Nicaraguan contras, and not giving any opportunity to create the conditions for the peaceful development of that young republic.

Positive trends have emerged in Soviet-Chinese relations, and the Soviet Union will do everything in its power to develop and deepen these relations.

The general picture of the world today allows us to draw a firm conclusion: The process of positive development which is taking shape in Soviet-U.S. ties is also influencing other countries, even those which are sometimes described by some people, with no valid reason, as "peripheral."

A number of international forums, both bilateral and multilateral, are currently taking place in the world. Among the problems being discussed are the elimination of chemical weapons and conventional arms reduction. The Soviet Union, with the support of the other socialist countries, has put forward a number of proposals, including proposals on creating a comprehensive system of international security and strengthening security in northern Europe. The future will show whether today's politicians are capable of reaching agreement on the most important, burning issues of today.

All this also makes it incumbent on diplomats to be ready. It is they who, on behalf of the governments, find themselves in the front line, as the military men say, in the present situation.

A.A. Gromyko dwelt on the domestic policy of the CPSU and the Soviet state—the restructuring, in its most profound sense. The Soviet people understand this course and approve it wholeheartedly. All the transformations in the country and the democratization of public life are being carried out by people; it is the human factor that decides everything.

There is no alternative for the Soviet people. If anyone in the West expects the USSR to "erode" the socialist character of society either in the economic and social spheres or in the spheres of ideology, culture, and science, they will be disappointed. Serious politicians, even in the bourgeois camp, do not share these expectations, and they are right.

We are pleased fraternal relations are developing between us and the GDR. In the camp of certain Western figures there is a desire to find cracks in our relations, but no such cracks exist. The attempts to undermine the prestige of the GDR and its capital are well known. To all such intrigues, the GDR's Warsaw Pact allies, including the Soviet Union, reply unequivocally: The independent socialist state on German soil—the GDR—enjoys their full support, and they will not deviate by one jot from that position.

Both sides stressed the complete unity of views on all the international questions discussed, the unity of ends and means in the implementation of foreign policy, and the fraternal friendship of the USSR and GDR peoples.

Leaves Moscow

LD281142 Moscow Domestic Service in Russian 1100 GMT 28 Jan 88

[Text] Today Oskar Fischer, SED Central Committee member and GDR Foreign minister, left Moscow after an official, friendly visit to our country at the invitation of the Soviet Government. He was seen off at the airport by Eduard Amvrosiyevich Shevardnadze, CPSU Central Committee Politburo member and USSR foreign minister, and other officials.

Visit Communique

LD281603 Moscow TASS in English 1532 GMT 28 Jan 88

[Text] Moscow January 28 TASS—The ministers of foreign affairs of the USSR and the GDR have voiced support for the drafting of a Soviet-American treaty on a 50-per-cent reduction of strategic offensive arms given that the parties to the treaty abide by the ABM Treaty in the form in which it was signed in 1972 and do not withdraw from it for an agreed-upon period.

Member of the Political Bureau of the CPSU Central Committee, minister of foreign affairs of the USSR Eduard Shevardnadze and member of the Central Committee of the Socialist Unity Party of Germany, minister of foreign affairs of the GDR Oskar Fischer exchanged views on questions of bilateral relations and a wide range of international problems. It is said in a communique on the results of Oskar Fischer's official friendly visit to the Soviet Union (January 26-28).

The agreement reached by the USSR with the GDR and Czechoslovakia on the withdrawal from those countries in the near future of Soviet missiles deployed on their territory without waiting for the INF treaty to enter into force was qualified by the foreign ministers as an effective initiative on the road of nuclear disarmament.

The ministers declared for the speediest successful conclusion of the talks on the general and complete prohibition of chemical weapons and the conclusion of an international convention providing for reliable verification and control. They declared for the holding already in the first half of 1988 of a multilateral exchange of data on chemical weapons. The USSR and the GDR stated their concern over the commencement of the manufacture of binary weapons in the United States.

The ministers discussed questions of security in Europe. They stressed the importance of the adoption of a mandate that would serve as a basis for the commencement of talks on the reduction of armed forces and conventional armaments in Europe, including the question of dual-use means. The nuclear component of these means could be made the subject of appropriate negotiations in the near future. It was noted that the strengthening of trust in the military field could be facilitated by the implementation of the proposal by Warsaw Treaty member states on the holding of consultations between representatives of Warsaw Treaty and NATO countries with the aim of ensuring that the military doctrines of the two alliances be based on defensive principles.

The ministers stressed the striving of the USSR and the GDR to create a "common European home" in which there would be an atmosphere of trust and cooperation between all countries on the basis of observance of the sovereignty and territorial integrity of states within their present borders.

GDR's Axen Meets Dobrynin, Medvedev

LD210219 Moscow Television Service in Russian 1800 GMT 20 Jan 88

[From the "Vremya" newscast]

[Text] Hermann Axen, Politburo member and SED Central Committee secretary, was in Moscow on 19 and 20 January on a working visit at the invitation of the CPSU Central Committee. Comrades Dobrynin and Medvedev held talks with him. A number of questions of cooperation between the two fraternal parties in European and international affairs were discussed. The meetings proceeded in a warm, friendly atmosphere.

Ceausescu Receives Order of Lenin

LD251432 Moscow Domestic Service in Russian 1400 GMT 25 Jan 88

[Text] By a decree of the USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium Nicolae Ceausescu, RCP secretary general and Socialist Republic of Romania president, has been awarded the Order of Lenin for his services in developing fraternal friendship and cooperation between the peoples of Romania and the USSR and in connection with his 70th birthday.

Jakes: CPCZ Must Remain 'Political Vanguard'

PM291939 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 27 Jan 88 Second Edition p 4

[TASS report: "Meeting in Prague"]

[Text] Prague, 26 Jan—A meeting of CPCZ Central Committee political workers was held in Prague today, so CTK reports, to discuss the tasks of party work in fulfilling the CPCZ Central Committee December (1987) Plenum decisions and preparing report-back meetings and conferences in primary party organizations.

The meeting was addressed by Milos Jakes, CPCZ Central Committee general secretary. He dwelt on the role of the CPCZ Central Committee apparatus at the new stage in the development of the socialist society, under the conditions of restructuring the economic mechanism and other spheres of life and deepening socialist democracy and public information.

The activity of the CPCZ as the political vanguard of society must accord with the demands and tasks of the day, the CPCZ Central Committee general secretary pointed out. It is necessary to secure a substantial improvement in the work of the Central Committee apparatus in the interests of eliminating the bureaucratic approach and parochialism and the speediest mastering of the new style, methods, and forms of work by party organs and organizations.

Decisive significance here attaches to the situation in the party and society and to its objective assessment based on serious analysis, authentic information, and a constant link between apparatus workers and life.

Bulgaria, Albania Form Ambassadorial Ties

PM291935 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 27 Jan 88 Morning Edition p 5

[TASS report: "Accord Reached"]

[Text] Sofia, 26 Jan—The Governments of Bulgaria and Albania have reached an accord to raise diplomatic relations between the two countries to ambassadorial level. This has been reported by BTA in Tirana.

This agreement resulted from political consultations held in Tirana between delegations of the Bulgarian and Albanian foreign policy departments. There was an exchange of opinions on questions of the further development of bilateral relations in the the political, economic, and cultural spheres. The meeting of Balkan countries' foreign ministries which is due to be held in Belgrade was also discussed.

West Europe

Shevardnadze Receives West German Ambassador

LD291814 Moscow TASS in English 1755 GMT 29 Jan 88

[Text] Moscow January 29 TASS—Eduard Shevardnadze, member of the Politburo of the CPSU Central Committee and foreign minister of the USSR, today received the ambassador of the Federal Republic of Germany to the Soviet Union, Andreas Meyer-Landrut.

Regarding the recent talks in Bonn during Shevardnadze's visit, the West German ambassador set out on instructions of his government some additional considerations on issues of safeguarding European security and disarmament.

The Soviet side gave corresponding explanations of the Soviet Union's approach to the issues discussed in the light of its course towards reducing nuclear and conventional arms.

Mitterrand, Thatcher Hold Talks in London

LD292127 Moscow TASS in English 2028 GMT 29 Jan 88

[Text] London January 29 TASS—TASS correspondent Sergey Terekhov reports:

Talks between French President Francois Mitterrand and British Prime Minister Margaret Thatcher ended here today.

Speaking at the final press conference, the French president and the head of the British Government described the exchange of opinions as highly productive, though they pointed to a number of differences, above all in the matters of financing agricultural programmes of the [European] Community.

The sides emphasized that questions of the military-political nature connected with the signing of the Soviet-American INF Treaty held one of the central places at the talks. Having approved the signing of the treaty, as well as the efforts toward the further reductions in the nuclear arsenals of the USA and the USSR, the French president and the head of the British Government at the same time confirmed the refusal to make their own nuclear forces the subject of such talks and expressed the adherence to the idea of keeping and upgrading them in the foreseeable future. Thus, the French president said that even possible 50-percent cuts in strategic nuclear forces of the USSR and the USA would not be enough for making the French nuclear weapon systems the subject of negotiations.

It follows from the pronouncements of the leaders of the two countries that the sides paid considerable attention to discussing the matters of bilateral cooperation in the military area, and also to the strengthening of such cooperation among West European countries, NATO members. Margaret Thatcher emphasized in this connection that the participants in the talks arrived at the consensus about the need for strengthening the West European foundation of the North Atlantic alliance.

Answering questions from newsmen, the head of the British Government touched upon the problem of the joint development of the Anglo-French air-launched cruise missile. Noting that the final decision to embark on such work has not yet been adopted, she at the same time said that the discussion of this matter continues.

British Secretary of State for Defence George Younger told reporters that in the framework of the present Anglo-French summit the sides agreed on a number of concrete measures to expand cooperation in the military area. It is planned, specifically, to give access to national ports of both countries to each other's nuclear submarines. It is planned to hold joint military exercises during which the methods of rapid movement of British forces over the French territory in the event of a "crisis situation" will be drilled.

Mitterrand, Kohl Sign Defense Protocol

LD221834 Moscow TASS in English 1748 GMT 22 Jan 88

[Text] Paris January 22 TASS—Today President Francois Mitterrand of France and Chancellor Helmut Kohl of the Federal Republic of Germany (FRG), who arrived here for an official visit, signed a protocol on the establishment of a Franco-West German Defence Council which is called upon, in particular, to promote broader military cooperation between the two countries. Francois Mitterrand and Helmut Kohl also signed a protocol on founding a joint economic and financial council.

The present Franco-West German summit meeting is timed for today's 25th anniversary of the signing of the bilateral treaty which defined the principles for economic and military cooperation between France and the FRG.

Following the signing of the protocols, a spokesman for the French president's office made it clear that the Franco-West German Defence Council would be instructed to form a joint military unit to be brought into being this year and to be based near the West German city Stuttgart. A decision on such a unit had been taken by Francois Mitterrand and Helmut Kohl in November last year.

Levin Commentary

LD230004 Moscow Domestic Service in Russian 1900 GMT 22 Jan 88

[Viktor Levin Commentary]

[Text] In Paris French President Mitterand and FRG Chancellor Kohl have signed a protocol on establishing a joint defense council and a council on economic and financial issues. A news commentary with Viktor Levin at the microphone:

[levin] Great festivities are under way in the French capital on the occasion of the 25th anniversary of the bilateral treaty that marked a new stage in relations between the two countries. Within the framework of these festivities, a new step has been taken along the path toward strengthening relations. In theory, the development of bilateral relations can only be welcomed, but the military aspect of the Franco-German alliance that has been expressed raises quite natural questions. What, let us say, has evoked the decision to set up a joint Franco-German brigade to strengthen cooperation in the military sphere? Is the political set-up in Europe really such that it dictates an increase in such actions?

This question is all the more legitimate when the Federal Republic itself has of late made a substantial contribution to the arms limitation process and, therefore, to stabilizing security. At the recent talks of USSR Foreign Minister Comrade Shevardnadze with the leaders of the FRG in Bonn, the desire of the Federal Government was likewise expressed of continuing to promote the cause of stabilizing security in the future. On the Rhine they are talking of the historic significance of the Treaty To Eliminate Intermediate- and Shorter-Range Missiles and are calling on Washington not to protract the ratification process for that document.

Immediately following the talks with the Soviet foreign minister, Genscher, head of the FRG foreign policy department, set off for Washington, in order, as the West German press frankly announced, to urge the United States to a most rapid conclusion of an agreement on a total chemical weapons ban. True, to judge from the cables received from Washington, the U.S. side did not give Genscher an answer. But on another issue, to be precise, on a reduction of the list of goods banned for sale to the socialist countries, also spoken of during Comrade Shevardnadze's visit to Bonn, it would seem that Washington made the concessions on which the FRG was insisting. Or let us take the following fact. At a session of the Cabinet of Ministers, Chancellor Kohl stated his readiness to cooperate actively in many spheres with the Soviet Union. It is precisely the development of cooperation in all areas, the FRG head of government said, that can lead to the creation of mutual trust and, thereby, to an improvement in relations between East and West.

Such statements can only be welcomed and action directed at strengthening cooperation and at creating an atmosphere of mutual trust all the more so. But how are they to be combined with a strengthening of the military alliance between France and the FRG? It is obvious that this goes against the interests of stabilizing the security of all states on the continent, has nothing in common with strengthening trust, and contradicts the spirit of the times.

Andreyev Comments on Cocom Meeting in Paris

LD291959 Moscow TASS in English 1920 GMT 29 Jan 88

[Text] Moscow January 29 TASS—"Though efforts are made to interfere with the Soviet Union's import of up-to-date technologies and equipment, this has not made the Soviet Union abandon any of its economic projects. The attempts of definite forces to continue this practice through the Coordinating Committee on Controls of Export to Socialist Countries (Cocom) are to be regretted", said chief researcher of the Institute of World Economy and International Relations of the USSR Academy of Sciences, Yuriy Andreyev.

A TASS correspondent asked him to comment on the Cocom meeting that ended yesterday in Paris. The press reports that the U.S. delegation continued its line at putting obstacles to the development of commercial and economic ties between socialist countries and countries of Western Europe and Japan.

Against the background of the intensively developing process of the improving East-West relations in such areas as disarmament and humanitarian problems, the striving to complicate cooperation in the economy looks as an anachronism, Yuriy Andreyev went on to say. And though not all Cocom countries adhere to this tough course (for instance, FRG Foreign Minister Hans-Dietrich Genscher criticized "outdated" export restrictions), it is not these countries that so far decide the state of affairs in Cocom.

The present stage of East-West economic relations is complex and contradictory, the scientist said. The reduction of the Soviet Union's volume of trade with Western countries has been observed since 1985. There is a need for considerable efforts to overcome this state of affairs. We realise that some reasons are within our economic mechanism. The radical reform of the Soviet economy, specifically, of its foreign economic area, is largely aimed at removing them.

It should not be forgotten that economic cooperation should always be to mutual advantage. And this means that all partners, Soviet and foreign, should be interested in its development. The interest of capitalist countries in cooperation with the USSR is well known. It was manifested, for instance, during the recent meetings that general secretary of the CPSU Central Committee had in Washington, chairman of the USSR Council Of Ministers Nikolay Ryzhkov had in Sweden and USSR Foreign Minister Eduard Shevardnadze had in the FRG. But cooperation, as is known, develops in an environment and it is determined by the policy of states. Obstacles to the delivery of science-intensive products to socialist countries create an unfavourable climate for any trade exchanges.

The lessons should be learnt from the past, Yuriy Andreyev said. It is known that Cocom was particularly active in the fifties and sixties, putting obstacles to deliveries to the Soviet Union of technology advanced for those times, but this has not interfered with the development of the Soviet Union's economic, technological and military potential. A certain freezing in the activity of that committee in the seventies coincided, and we believe not accidentally, with the burgeoning of exchanges between countries of the two systems. And now, curbing exchanges, Cocom acts unreasonably and deprives countries participating in it of considerable profits.

'Coincidence' of Spy Mania, Cocom Meeting Noted

LD291653 Moscow TASS in English 1530 GMT 29 Jan 88

[Text] Paris January 29 TASS—By TASS correspondent Yuriy Lopatin:

The French press, television and radio have once again lent themselves readily to another outbreak of a spy mania with anti-Soviet flavor.

Bourgeois propaganda is once again playing the familiar "Red under the bed" record.

Right-wing newspapers have reported with banner headlines the arrests in Marseilles of five French nationals, managers and other personnel of a local export firm, on charges of "illegal sales" of "sensitive technologies" to the Soviet Union.

Are there any grounds for accusations against the Soviet Union? It is clear to any unbiased observer that there are none whatsoever.

So why the "spies who came in from the cold" outcry? It is plain that any customer seeks to buy what he needs. This is the fundamental law of trade. Or should the USSR be buying nails in France?

It is generally known—and the Soviet Union does not make any effort to conceal this—that Soviet foreign trade organizations seek to buy products needed by the national economy and meeting modern requirements.

This is up to the sellers to see if the sales are permitted by their national legislation.

Besides, contrary to official charges, no "damage to French security" has been done. This has been made clear by the lawyers of the arrested most conclusively: The equipment supplied by the firm is meant for nothing more than measuring the intensity of electromagnetic field and, first, cannot have any military uses and, second, was developed as many as 15 or so years ago.

So what is the explanation behind the latest anti-Soviet outburst?

The press has noted one far from accidental coincidence: The counter-intelligence service's action has provided a kind of accompaniment to a two-day session of the Coordinating Committee for Multilateral Export Controls (Cocom), which ended in Versailles outside Paris last Thursday.

The meeting, convened on Washington's initiative, was attended by representatives of the NATO nations (except Iceland) and Japan.

It was held amid strict secrecy. According to leaks from behind the closed doors, the United States pressed its partners to tighten Cocom restrictions on the exports of so-called "strategic" and "high-tech" goods to the USSR and other socialist countries.

Thereby it attempted to reactivate the committee, which was formed at the height of "cold war", as a barrier to the nascent process of broadening international trade and economic cooperation.

Local observers note that such attempts by Washington do not square either with the recommendations of the Helsinki Final Act or with the understandings reached during the recent Soviet-U.S. summit in Washington.

They add that the United States, using claims of "concern for Western security" as a cover, is actually out to pose extra difficulties for its rivals in the external markets, by restricting their exports to socialist nations, while itself trying to win lucrative deals there.

According to media reports, the U.S. maneuvers at the session ran into stiff resistance on the part of the other partners, especially Japan, West Germany, Italy, Spain and Greece.

AGENCE FRANCE PRESSE reported, quoting "informed European sources", that a compromise was reached at the end of the session, after a long debate.

Washington had to comply with demands by its partners and agree to a certain "easing" of export controls over sales of less important and older technologies. In return it won agreement to a tougher policing of exports of "strategic" technologies to socialist countries.

The Marseilles affair in this connection can be interpreted in different ways. It may be that some forces in France have decided to show the overseas partner that Paris stands unwaveringly "firm" in its commercial dealings with Moscow or that the Soviet Union's adversaries have just made another attempt to put Soviet-French relations in a bad light. Or may it be due to the logic of the presidential campaign ahead of the April election?

In any case, it remains to be regretted that because of their local political considerations some people are prepared thoughtlessly and irresponsibly to expose traditionally friendly ties between France and the Soviet Union to risk.

Ortega in Stockholm Criticizes U.S. Policy

LD010717 Moscow TASS in English 0657 GMT 1 Feb 88

[Text] Stockholm February 1 TASS—"Nicaragua needs peace", "Down with U.S. imperialism" were the slogans of the Swedish public meeting held in the People's House in the evening on Sunday. Representatives of Swedish public attending the meeting welcomed President Daniel Ortega of Nicaragua, who arrived in Stockholm, in the course of his tour of a number of West European countries. President Ortega held talks with Swedish Prime Minister Ingvar Carlsson.

Addressing the meeting, Ortega pointed out the great significance of the implementation of the plan for control over the course of peaceful settlement in Central America, which was outlined by the presidents of five Central American nations at their meeting in the Costa Rican capital. In that connection he strongly condemned the intention of the Reagan administration to get approval from the U.S. Congress for new appropriations on the criminal activities of the contras, which will, as a matter of fact, be tantamount to frustration of the plan for a peaceful settlement in that region. The Nicaraguan president declared his country's indomitable determination to follow the path of social progress and building a democratic independent society in Nicaragua despite the present difficulties.

Addressing a press conference held later in the day, Ortega said that the talks with the Swedish prime minister covered problems pertaining to a peaceful settlement in Central America and Sweden's participation in that process. The Swedish Government, he noted, has on the whole shown a positive attitude to creating a structure designed to supervise the course of that process. The same questions, he noted, were touched upon at the talks in the course of his tour of Europe with representatives of the Governments of Italy, Spain and Norway. The Nicaraguan president specially pointed out that it is important that other states as well as international organisations should join in the efforts by the countries of the region directed at ensuring peace.

Addressing the press conference, the Swedish prime minister spoke highly of the actions by the presidents of the five Central American nations, who undertook a number of important measures aimed at reaching national reconciliation and democratization in the region and specially pointed out in that connection the decision of the Nicaraguan Government to lift the state of emergency and announce an amnesty. The Swedish prime minister criticized the policy of the United States and the continued support by the White House for the contra gangs, which is in conflict with the norms of international law and hampers the process of peaceful settlement in Central America.

Latin America & Caribbean

American Pilot Denby Freed by Nicaraguans

LD311418 Moscow TASS in English 1359 GMT 31 Jan 88

[Text] Managua January 31 TASS—American James Jordan Denby, who in December last year violated the Nicaraguan air space on a small plane with supplies for contras, was set free by decision of Nicaragua's judicial authorities.

The preliminary investigation revealed that Denby served as a link between the CIA and contra ringleaders. Despite irrefutable proofs showing Denby's involvement in the anti-Nicaraguan activities, the Nicaraguan Government, displaying its goodwill, found it possible to return freedom to him.

Outcome of Sandinista-Contra Talks Reported

'New Moves' To Reach Peace

LD291317 Moscow TASS in English 1234 GMT 29 Jan 88

[Text] Managua January 29 TASS—TASS correspondent Andrey Kurguzov reports: The Nicaraguan Government took new moves to reach peace in Central America and to stop armed operations between the Sandinista People's Army and units of Nicaraguan contras.

Proposals of the national leadership to counter-revolutionaries circulated here on Thursday point out that it is impossible to reach a lasting peace in the region without disarmament of these forces and their involvement in peaceful political activities. Guided by goodwill and the desire for the earliest settlement of the Central American conflict, the government proposed that the mercenaries end military operations from March 15 to April 15. Starting with March 1 the Sandinista People's Army will stop offensive operations throughout the country so as to guarantee the contras safety in ceasefire zones. Units of the Sandinista People's Army will conduct military operations against groups stationed outside the above zones or those violating an armistice. A joint military commission will be engaged in investigating reasons for armed clashes.

During the above period contra armed units should refrain from getting foreign military aid, which conforms to the Guatemalan agreements. An international commission will be set up to monitor the observance of an agreement. It could be made up of representatives of the U.N., O.A.S., the International Commission on Verification and Control, the Contadora Group and the Group of Support, the Democratic Christian International, the Liberal International, the Socialist International and the

Republican and Democratic Parties of the USA. The government declared its readiness to enact a law on general amnesty after a ceasefire, disarmament of contras, amnesty and transition to peaceful political activities.

U.S. 'Pretext' for Accusations

LD300936 Moscow TASS in English 0853 GMT 30 Jan 88

[Text] Havana January 30 TASS—The talks between the Nicaraguan Government delegation and contra leaders on a ceasefire drew to an end in San Jose, capital of Costa Rica, last Friday following two days of intensive discussions.

The sides failed to reach a final agreement on this issue, reports monitored here say. However, they concurred in principle to carry on the process of the dailogue and hold new talks in Guatemala on February 10-12 to look for mutually acceptable foundations for a ceasefire.

The government delegation put forward realistic proposals concerning a ceasefire in Nicaragua within the shortest terms, which is in line with the Guatemalan peace accords. It suggested, in part, halting combat operations on March 15 for one month. The government delegation also proposed forming mixed commissions on monitoring compliance with this agreement involving representatives of the authorities and the contras.

The representatives of the contras, acting in accordance with a scenario drawn up by the White House, made attempts to impose on the Sandinist government the discussion of the country's internal policy. The purpose of this manoeuvre is to give the U.S. Administration a "pretext" for accusing the Nicaraguan Government of non-observance of the Guatemalan accords and spur on the propaganda campaign for a congressional approval of President Reagan's request for setting aside 36 million dollars in new aid to the contras.

Addressing a press conference upon the completion of the talks, Victor Hugo Tinoco, Nicaraguan deputy foreign minister who headed the government delegation, emphasized that getting an early agreement on a ceasefire would mean preservation of the lives of hundreds of Nicaraguans. This would shore up the hopes of the Central American peoples for bringing peace to the region.

Local Political Observations

LD311222 Moscow TASS in English 1154 GMT 31 Jan 88

[Text] Managua January 31 TASS—Local political observers evaluate positively the outcome of the talks between representatives of the Nicaraguan Government and contra leaders, despite the absence of a final agreement on a ceasefire. Upon his return to Managua, Victor Hugo Tinoco, deputy foreign minister of the Republic who headed the government delegation, described the dialogue in San Jose as highly positive.

The sides studied in detail the specific issues of the bilateral termination of combat operations and identifying fire-free zones. War and peace are now in the hands of U.S. congressmen who should say their "yes" or "no" to authorizing regular financial aid to the mercenaries, he said.

The newspaper "BARRICADA" writes that the talks in San Jose have demonstrated the Nicaraguan Government's determination scrupulously to fulfil the obligations assumed in Guatemala and achieve lasting peace in the country and in the region. An accord on ceasing combat operations between the Sandinist People's Army units and armed formations of American Indians serves as an added proof of this. It was reached at the talks between the Nicaraguan Government and "Yatama", which ended here.

A communique signed by Tomas Borge, minister of the interior, and Brooklyn Rivera, the "Yatama" leader, which was released Saturday, says that the sides supported the process of peace settlement in Central America on the basis of the Guatemalan peace agreements. Being guided by good will and the striving to cease bloodshed in the country, the Nicaraguan Government and the leadership of the Indian organisation approached representatives of Canada, Costa Rica, Cuba, Denmark, Finland, Sweden, the Netherlands and Norway with the request to give support to the efforts to bring peace to Nicaragua's Atlantic coast and act as international observers.

At the talks the sides got an agreement on conducting the next round of the dialogue shortly with the mediation of the Moravian Church and the Evangelical Committee on Development Issues to achieve truce and a halt to combat operations in the east of the country.

The peoples of Central American countries should solve the problems faced by them by their own forces, without foreign interference, on the basis of self-determination and respect for national sovereignty. This point of view was expressed by candidates to the post of the president of Ecuador at the general elections in progress there today in interviews with the newspaper "HOY".

Jaime Hurtado Gonzalez, candidate to the president from the election bloc "The United Left Forces Front", noted that the United States' interference in the internal affairs of Central American states was the key obstacle to the settlement of the situation in that region.

Western Europe supports the process of a peace settlement in Central America launched by the presidents of five Central American countries last August, Leopoldo

Guinti, an EEC leader, said in Guatemala upon the conclusion of the conference of representatives of Central American countries and the European Economic Community.

The final documents of the conference say that the Reagan administration also pays lip service to support for peace in Central America. However, Washington's concrete steps are a far cry from these statements. The United States continues interference in Nicaragua's internal affairs by lending military and financial support to the contra formations.

Nicaraguan Defense Ministry on January Successes

LD010919 Moscow TASS in English 0710 GMT 1 Feb 88

[Text] Managua February 1 TASS—Troops of the Sandinista Popular Army put 438 Somozista mercenaries out of action in the past month, the Nicaraguan defense ministry has said.

In the course of operations to mop up contra gangs in Nicaraguan territory 334 mercenaries were killed and large amounts of arms and ammunition of U.S. make, including mortars, grenade launchers and plastic explosives for acts of sabotage, seized, the ministry said in a communique.

It added that as a result of acts of terrorism by the contras 24 civilians were killed, 37 wounded and another 77 abducted.

Soviet Group Protests U.S. Support for Contras

LD291938 Moscow TASS in English 1856 GMT 29 Jan 88

[Text] Moscow January 29 TASS—The Soviet Committee of Solidarity With Latin American Peoples issued a statement to condemn the decision of the U.S. Administration to press for more appropriations of billions of dollars for counterrevolutionary bands. The committee proclaimed its support for the just cause of the Nicaraguan people, for the process of political settlement in the Central American region.

The statement says that the United States Administration asked the Congress to allocate within the next four months over 36 million dollars for the continuation of a bloody war against the Nicaraguan people which is fought with the use of mercenaries. Washington undertook this action at a moment when Central American countries, relying on the assistance of the Contadora Group and the Support Group, the prestige of the United Nations Organization approached to the utmost the implementation of their plan for the establishment of a secure and lasting peace in the region, signed in Guatemala on August 7 last year. The Nicaraguan Government, guided by the striving to achieve peace in Central America, took versatile measures in the interests of implementing the Guatemalan agreement.

It is emphasized in the statement of the Soviet committee that the decision of the U.S. Government to continue its line at backing the mercenaries, at undermining the process of peaceful settlement in the Central American region evoked sharp criticism in Latin America, in the United States itself, in other countries. The public of the whole world expresses serious concern that the United States actions will be an insurmountable obstacle to the process of peaceful settlement in the region.

U.S. Reportedly Moving Troops to Costa Rica

LD011044 Moscow TASS in English 1013 GMT 1 Feb 88

[Text] San Jose February 1 TASS—The U.S. Army South Command will soon move some 500 soldiers and military engineers, based in the zone of the Panama Canal, to Costa Rica, according to Guillermo Constenla, minister of public works and transport of this Central American country. He made this statement at a press conference in San Jose. The American servicemen will build and repair a sector of a road in Limon Province, he said further.

However, such statements can not mislead the Costa Rican public. Political news analysts and representatives of left-wing parties stress that in view of the continuing undeclared war against Nicaragua by the USA, motorways built by American soldiers can be easily converted into runways for aircraft. They can also be used for the rapid movement of forces from the shore of Costa Rica to the area of hostilities if the USA starts direct invasion of Nicaragua.

Political & Social

Ukraine CC Plenum Hears Accountability Reports

Shcherbitskiy Report

AU291801 Kiev PRAVDA UKRAINY in Russian 23 Jan 88 pp 1-4

["Accountability Report on the Work Performed in the Leadership of Restructuring, Delivered on Behalf of the Ukrainian Communist Party Central Committee Politburo by V.V. Shcherbitskiy, CPSU Central Committee Politburo Member and Ukrainian Communist Party Central Committee First Secretary"]

[Text] Comrades, the meetings and plenums which are now being held in the republic and all over the country to examine accountability reports by elective organs mark an important stage in preparations for the 19th All-Union CPSU Conference. They are called upon to invigorate the activity of party organizations in the pursuit of the line adopted by the 27th CPSU Congress on restructuring.

The accountability campaign was determined by the theses and conclusions set forth in the accountability report, "The October and Restructuring: The Revolution Continues," delivered by M.S. Gorbachev, CPSU Central Committee general secretary. The report has oriented us toward the absolute repudiation of dogmas and stereotypes, toward a creative search for new ways in developing theory and practice.

The concept of new political thinking elaborated by our party and the energetic and constructive policy of the CPSU are winning ever more adherents. The results of the Soviet-U.S. summit meeting, and the Treaty signed on Eliminating Intermediate- and Shorter-Range Missiles are of enormous historic importance.

The Communists and all people of the Soviet Ukraine are aware that our country's foreign policy positions and economic might, as well as the prosperity of the people directly, depend on a breakthrough in the work performed by every labor collective and above all on the increased activity of basic party organizations, which bring all threads of restructuring to a focus.

What political conclusion is to be drawn then from the plenums and meetings held already to discuss accountability reports by elective organs?

The republic's working people have undoubtedly invigorated their support for the line taken by the CPSU on restructuring, which is deepening and encompassing all aspects of life. Changes for the better in democratization, in economic reform, and in cadre work are obvious. They are gathering impetus and dynamism. As a result, economic efficiency is increasing, a real turn has taken shape in developing the social sphere, and the moral-political climate in labor collectives is improving.

In accomplishing the tasks set for restructuring and in accelerating the socioeconomic development of the republic, we have been and are constantly assisted by the CPSU Central Committee Politburo and Secretariat. The advice and recommendations given by Comrade M.S. Gorbachev during his visit to the Ukraine in June 1985 were of great importance for us. We were also greatly assisted by the CPSU Central Committee, which examined the work performed by a number of the republic's party organizations, and by the CPSU Central Committee departments which examined the situation directly in the field.

In taking into account the tasks set for the second stage of restructuring, one can say that the decision adopted by the CPSU Central Committee Politburo on the report by the Kiev city party organization was of significance for the party as a whole. The assessments and conclusions contained in the Central Committee decision enabled us to see more clearly both the gains and the losses in our restructuring work. The Ukrainian Communist Party Central Committee will closely examine the measures drawn up by the city party organization, and will concretely assist it in settling imminent problems concerning the city's socioeconomic development.

Many restructuring processes in the republic—particularly those in connection with the switch to the new management conditions—are proceeding in a way that is complex and, in various sectors and various places, not uniform. This is why the results have not been achieved everywhere and not in everything. A proper breakthrough along the entire line of restructuring has still not been made. The objective of this plenum is to examine the Politburo's activity in an exacting manner, to scrutinize the causes of the shortcomings, and to determine specifically what else has to be done to deepen restructuring in all sectors and at all levels.

Preparations for the plenum were made on a broad, democratic basis. We consulted elective aktivists, advanced production workers, enterprise leaders and specialists, and scientific and cultural figures. They made many constructive proposals and expressed interesting ideas. More than 200 materials were published in the column "For the Plenum Podium" in the republic-level press and were broadcast on television and the radio. All Central Committee members and candidate members, and all Ukrainian Communist Party Auditing Commission members have been familiarized by the Central Committee, by all obkoms and Kiev Gorkom with the theses of their accountability reports. Most remarks and proposals made by the former have been taken into account. All of it has helped the Politburo to prepare the accountability report which is herewith submitted for examination.

The Activity of the Ukrainian Communist Party Central Committee to Deepen Democracy and to Restructure the Style of Party Leadership [subhead]

Comrades, while restructuring in line with the decisions of the 27th party congress, the Ukrainian Communist Party Central Committee Politburo has been guided by the assumption that broad democratization in all spheres of life constituted the core of restructuring. We have proceeded from the idea that it was necessary to create a reliable and elastic mechanism to engage all working people in the handling of state and public affairs in a real way. In our work we have also assumed that restructuring implied overcoming outdated forms of public organization and work methods.

The Central Committee Politburo is strengthening the party's impact on the development of the economy and of the social and other spheres primarily by democratizing internal party life, by boosting the role of elective aktivists, and by enhancing the initiative of the Communists. In short, we have begun restructuring starting with ourselves, with party committees. For this purpose we have been trying to delineate distinctly the functions of party, administrative, and economic organs, and to consistently foster a political attitude, an atmosphere of great exactingness in both the Central Committee Politburo and Secretariat, and in the field.

Various aspects of the activity of practically all obkoms, of many gorkoms, raykoms, administrative organs, ministries, and departments were analyzed. The progress made in restructuring by Kharkov, Khmelnitskiy, Ivano-Frankovsk, and Poltava Obkoms, by Kherson Gorkom, and by Donetsk and Lvov Oblispolkoms was analyzed.

The Politburo regarded it as its paramount task to study more profoundly and to encourage concrete experience in the new methods of work, to take the interests of people more fully into account, to note the emerging difficulties and shortcomings in time, and to effectively eradicate and, primarily, prevent them. We consider that, in the course of restructuring, quite a few new and useful things have appeared in the work performed by party organizations in the City of Kiev, and in Donetsk, Zhitomir, Kiev, Poltava, Sumy, and Khmelnitskiy Oblasts. What matters is that a turn has been taken toward actual organizational work, toward problems which are vital for party committees, basic party organizations, and labor collectives.

The Politburo and the Secretariat have built up their entire work in conformity with the principle of collectivism, and have made decisions collectively. The general opinion is that the atmosphere in the Central Committee Politburo is sound, businesslike, and comradely. The line taken toward boosting the role of plenums, party meetings, and elective organs has been pursued consistently. Central Committee members and candidate members, as well as members of Auditing Commission have been actively engaged in preparations for plenums and aktivist meetings.

Significant steps have been taken to enhance glasnost. Central Committee Politburo members have begun to visit and address labor collectives more frequently, and to meet journalists. The mass media tackle basic problems involving the activity of the Ukrainian Communist Party Central Committee in an efficacious and concrete way. Regular reports on the implementation of the decisions adopted and on cadre reshuffling have become the rule at Central Committee plenums. The results of the Politburo's work were summed up each year, and Central Committee members were informed about them.

The Central Committee Politburo has aspired to foster democratic principles in cadre work. Last year, during the accountability and election campaign, 42% of party organization secretaries were elected from among several candidates. In conformity with the new requirements, a number of secretaries of large, basic party organizations were elected in an authentically democratic atmosphere at the tractor plant in Kharkov, the Northern ore mining and concentration combine in Krivoy Rog, the Lvov milling machines plant, and others.

Party committees are making their democratic attitudes more profound in all stages of cadre selection, distribution, and education. For example, Uzhgorod Gorkom has organized, directly within the labor collectives, discussions on the cadre reserve which is to be approved by the gorkom. As a result of this, this reserve had to be halved, which has proved to have only advantages for the latter.

Of course all this is good. But we must not overlook the fact that the new attitudes in work among cadres are carving out their path with difficulty. It is sufficient to say that, since the beginning of 1987, only 39 gorkom and raykom secretaries and a mere 17 gorispolkom and rayispolkom chairmen have been elected by secret ballot, including a mere 10% of those functionaries who are replacing others. The Central Committee Secretariat has not succeeded in overcoming a conservative mentality in the field, where people here and there continue to wait for additional instructions from above.

Comrades, democratization is unthinkable without making criticism and self-criticism more profound. The 27th CPSU Congress directive, stating that the party must leave no organizations that are beyond control, is being implemented in practice. The most important yardstick to measure the maturity of our cadres and their awareness of the requirements of restructuring is, of course, their attitude toward criticism.

In our opinion, Cherkassy, Chernigov, and Rovno Obkoms, with Comrades I.K. Lutak, L.I. Palazhchenko, and T.I. Panasenko as their first secretaries, who have been strictly criticized in their time, have drawn the right conclusions. In the activity of these party committees there are changes for the better and, as a result of this, things are better.

What happened in Dnepropetrovsk and Lvov Obkoms shows how dangerous is it to disregard criticism both "from above" and especially "from below." After all, shortcomings were incurred there mainly because the leaders of these obkoms, Comrades V.G. Boyko and V.F. Dobrik, violated the principles of collectivism and, one can say, were unable to restructure under the conditions of democratization and glasnost. The strict and principled measures taken by the CPSU and Ukrainian Communist Party Central Committees later on met with the support of the Communists and working people both in these oblasts and all over the republic.

It is to be pointed out that the Ukrainian Communist Party Central Committee Politburo members, Comrades V.A. Ivashko and Ya.P. Pogrebnyak, elected as Dnepropetrovsk and Lvov Obkom first secretaries, are working persistently to eliminate the shortcomings that have accumulated.

At the same time the state of affairs in Zaporozhye, Kirovograd, Nikolayev, and Odessa Oblasts continues to be disturbing. As far as Central Committee members can remember, the bureaus of these obkoms and their secretaries were repeatedly seriously criticized at Central Committee plenums. But there have thus far been no real changes for the better in these oblasts.

The recent plenums of the aforesaid obkoms evaluated strictly and in adherence to principle the situation and the shortcomings in the style of work by the bureaus, obkom secretaries, and other oblast leaders.

Thus it was noted specifically that pressing tasks in the Kirovograd Oblast economy, particularly in the oblast's agrarian sector, were accomplished in an inadequate way. This is the only oblast in the republic in which gross agricultural output in the last 2 years has sunk. In livestock productivity, the oblast is among the republic's worst. Under such conditions, the emergence in the oblast of a free-ride mentality was not accidental: Last year the oblast fell short of its targets for supplies to the union-republic stocks by more than 7,000 tonnes of meat and by nearly 25,000 tonnes of milk. The oblast is also falling short of the tasks planned for industry and construction.

The speakers who took the floor at obkom plenums pointed out that Comrades M.G. Samilyk and V.I. Zheliba still had not created an atmosphere in which everyone can take care of his own business and bear personal responsibility for the final results. The steps taken by the obkoms and oblispolkoms are insufficiently thought over, frequently bear the mark of voluntarism, and for this reason have no real impact on the situation.

For the sake of fairness it must be admitted that assistance to the aforesaid oblasts on the part of republic-level organs was, to put in mildly, ineffective. This applies primarily to the Ukrainian Gosagroprom. Just think: In 1987 alone, the very same Kirovograd Oblast was visited by 250 committee functionaries who spent nearly 1,400 days there. As we can see, these visits did not bring about any changes for the better.

Also the Central Committee Politburo and Secretariat must not be relieved of their share of the blame for the situation that has emerged. We should have reacted to the shortcomings, which were discussed repeatedly, more sharply and in time.

Comrades, the Politburo and Secretariat have intensified efforts to democratize and to restructure more profoundly a link as crucial as the gorkoms and raykoms, of which there are 704 in our republic (including the two recently created in the City of Kiev). It must be emphasized that many party committees have taken action to restructure and have been working purposefully and with good prospects.

Remarkable for its sense of novelty, unconventional thinking, and its creative quest is, in our opinion, the activity of Krivoy Rog Gorkom (under Comrade S.A. Stezhko, its first secretary). The gorkom shifted the center of its efforts to basic party organizations, which have mostly joined in restructuring. The practice of having a contested election for a leading post has become widespread. Last year labor collectives elected more than 50% of enterprise and organization leaders, and 90% of shop chiefs, foremen, and team leaders. The cadres are taking increasing responsibility for the final results. It is not mere chance that industrial enterprises in the city are working in a stable way. The plans for construction and assembly work are being fulfilled, too. The city has shown skill in finding local possibilities for taking care of its social problems. Thus, since the beginning of the 5-year period the housing area built by direct labor methods has doubled.

In its potential Zhdanov city party organization is as good as its Krivoy Rog counterpart. But things there are not so good. Stoppages at the city's largest enterprises have become chronic. Social tasks are being accomplished in an inadequate way. It is sufficient to say that not even a single square meter of housing space built by the direct labor method was put into service in 1987. The gorkom and its first secretary, Comrade S.P. Kuzenin, frequently continue to act in place of the administrative and economic bodies; they have failed to establish proper control over implementation. No proper conclusions have been drawn from the criticism of the shortcomings in the struggle against antisocial phenomena that was expressed at a session of the Central Committee Secretariat. In brief, the city still has a long way to go to real restructuring. Naturally enough, it is at least a pity that Donetsk Obkom and Comrade V.P. Mironov, personally, have not paid due attention to such a large party organization.

Unfortunately, the practice of substituting for administrative and economic organs also continues to be a major shortcoming in the activity of other gorkoms and raykoms, to the detriment of party and, particularly, ideological work. Many of them suffer from an inability to rely on the initiative of cadres, basic party organizations, and labor collectives, and from unsatisfactory organization in implementing the adopted decisions.

It must be frankly stated: Thus far, we have still been unable to ensure that the political methods of leadership are fully mastered by all gorkoms and raykoms. At this level there is still a strong tendency not only to pile all problems up on one's desk, but also to give commands and to exert pressure. This is why the task of boosting the role of gorkoms and raykoms in the restructuring process continues to be rather topical.

We should primarily help the basic party organizations to break out of the captivity of orchestration [zaorganizovannost] and formalism, and ensure that all party members are in leading posts, which are in the course of being restructured, that they are true fighters, and set an example to follow. Evidence of this is the fact that, during the plenums and meetings held to examine accountability reports by party committees and bureaus, more than 17,000 Communists were removed from bureaus for failure to prove themselves. This number included 2,132 (5%) secretaries of basic party organizations and 1,765 (4.2%) secretaries of shop party organizations, who were replaced.

The meetings presented the demand to eliminate existing shortcomings, to give more room to initiative and, in this way, to restructure at full speed. In particular, practical steps have been taken to invigorate all labor collective councils, without exception, to tighten control over the work performed by grass-root production units (shops, teams, and sectors) under the new conditions, to organize people so that they settle social problems by their own efforts (the direct labor method, young people's housing cooperatives, and combined construction methods), to have economic education encompass all people, and so forth. Gorkoms and raykoms are expected to assist basic party organizations in all these measures.

It is highly important to invigorate the activity of basic party organizations, and for this purpose it is expedient to examine at a Central Committee plenum ways to improve the work performed by gorkoms and raykoms in leading the restructuring of basic party organizations.

Serious blame for the shortcomings that exist in organizing the organizational party work is to be borne by the Central Committee Secretariat, which still has not ensured a high level of executive discipline and has failed to organize effective control over the implementation of the planned measures. A significant share of this blame is to be borne by Central Committee Second Secretary Comrade A.A. Titarenko, who misses some problems within the range of his duties and who shows insufficient initiative in restructuring organizational party work. More concrete actions are expected from the Central Committee Secretariat and Organizational Party Work Department to encourage the initiative of party committees, to make experience widespread, and to organize the implementation of decisions adopted in the field.

No doubt, all Central Committee departments should be constantly and purposefully engaged in the problems that concern internal party life and the work of basic party organizations.

Comrades, the Central Committee Politburo has devoted and continues to devote much attention to democratization directly within the labor collectives, which constitute a basic and highly important link. In recent times, the role of workers' meetings and collective contracts has increased. New forms have emerged, such as labor collective councils which now number nearly 6,000, and they are functioning with growing success.

The system of accountability rendered to the working people by leaders is improving. Collectives have now been granted the right to evaluate the activity of their leaders, including the right to make proposals regarding cadre questions.

Principled importance has been attached to the practice of appointing economic leaders at all levels by election. After the CPSU Central Committee January 1987 Plenum, 1,898 enterprise directors and nearly 70,000 middle-level leaders in the republic were appointed by election.

It is to be pointed out that not all party committees have attached appropriate political significance to these important questions. Moreover, the matter sometimes reaches in essence the point at which the very idea of appointing leaders by election is discredited, as was the case at the 25 October machine building plant in Pervomaysk, Nikolayev Oblast. Without taking a close look at the candidate, the 3,000-strong collective was requested to elect a specialist from another oblast as the plant director. After 4 months the director had to be dismissed because of the failure to cope with the commission. After 3 more months, a new director, invited from Sverdlovsk, was elected. Let us hope, Comrade L.G. Sharayev, that this was not a mistake.

Comrades, the Ukrainian Communist Party Central Committee Politburo is taking steps to actively engage the soviets of people's deputies, trade unions, and other public organizations in restructuring.

As is known, in recent times the rights and possibilities of the soviets have significantly increased, particularly regarding accomplishing the immediate tasks for the development of territories under their jurisdiction. However, the activity of many soviets and their executive committees still has not been restructured in an appropriate manner. An atmosphere of intolerance toward bureaucrats still has not been created in their apparatus. After all, it is not mere chance that the number of citizens' appeals to union- and republic-level authorities concerning problems which should be settled by local soviets and their subordinate institutions has not subsided. For example, two-thirds of all letters to Donetsk, Voroshilovgrad, and Dnepropetrovsk Oblispolkoms reach their addressees via Moscow and Kiev.

We feel that the Central Committee Politburo was insufficiently strict in evaluating the work of the oblispolkom chairmen. As you remember, the leaders of the Crimean Obkom were repeatedly criticized for substantial shortcomings. But the oblispolkom with its chairman, Comrade A.M. Roshchupkin, were left alone. In the meantime, the oblast is falling short of the plans for housing construction and the comprehensive development of resorts. More importantly, the oblispolkom apparently does not aspire to hasten restructuring or show initiative.

Or let us take Lvov Oblast. It has already been said what a strict decision was adopted on the obkom leadership. But direct responsibility for many shortcomings lay on the oblispolkom and its chairman, Comrade M.I. Kirey. Municipal services, particularly water supply, transport, trade, and medical services in the oblast have been neglected.

Also other oblispolkom leaders, in particular Comrades P.I. Moskalkov (Zaporozhye Oblispolkom), M.M. Malevanik (Zakarpatskiy Oblispolkom), and A.V. Pecherov (Odessa Oblispolkom), have so far not been working at full capacity, and have been slow in freeing themselves from inertia and excessive precaution.

This is why we expect the Ukrainian Supreme Soviet Presidium chaired by Comrade V.S. Shevchenko, Ukrainian Communist Party Central Committee Politburo member, to be more persistent in boosting the role of the soviets in accomplishing socioeconomic tasks, in tightening control over the implementation of electors' orders, and in further promoting the process of democratization.

The Ukrainian Trade Unions Council should be more resolute in its efforts to restructure trade union work. The impact of its Presidium, secretaries, and branches on the accomplishment of tasks involving the introduction of economic accountability, self-financing, and the multi-shift system is still inadequate. Immediate tasks involving the expansion of self-government in labor collectives, improvements in the organization of socialist competitions and in cadre work are still being accomplished very slowly. Comrade V.A. Sologub must show more personal initiative and exactingness regarding to trade union functionaries, and ministerial and departmental leaders in charge of carrying out social tasks.

One can also not regard as satisfactory the progress made in restructuring work by many Komsomol organizations in the republic. The changes made here have touched mostly upon external aspects, and not upon the essence of the matter. This is, of course, a result of shortfalls caused by the Ukrainian Komsomol Central Committee, and by oblast, city, and rayon Komsomol committees. Moreover, the way the Central Committee Secretariat and many local party committees work on the Komsomol is, unfortunately, still old, and this must be remedied.

The system of people's control, the newly created organizations of war and labor veterans, women's councils, the Culture Fund, the Children's Fund, and the Society for the Struggle for Sobriety have all fallen short of actually engaging the development and expension of democracy.

Comrades, while consistently pursuing the line of expanding and deepening democracy, the Central Committee Politburo has intensified its efforts to further strengthen legality, law and order, discipline, and good organization. Problems involving the struggle against unearned incomes and book padding, against drunkenness and alcoholism, against moonshining and drug addiction, and against other antisocial phenomena, have always been in the field of our vision. In the last 2 years, party committees sent more than 22,000 Communists and Komsomols, selected from among the best representatives of labor collectives, to work in internal affairs organs. The composition of people's courts and of the procuratorship personnel has been significantly renewed.

All that has produced its results. At the same time, the level of crime in many oblasts continues to be high, and the effectiveness of the work performed by administrative organs is still insufficient. There have also been quite a few infringements in the activity of the aforesaid organs themselves, including groundless detentions and arrests, unlawful criminal actions against citizens, and the association [srastaniye] of individual functionaries with criminal elements. For example, 11 functionaries of internal affairs organs in Kharkov city were sentenced last year for bribery and complicity with criminal elements. There are also many serious shortcomings in the work of the Dnepropetrovsk Oblast law enforcement organs. Acts of unlawfulness and arbitrariness have also been incurred by functionaries of Odessa Oblast administrative organs, including the oblast procurator, V.I. Zamarin, and on this basis the Party Control Committee under the CPSU Central Committee expelled the latter and some other officials from the party and dismissed them from their posts.

As noted in the recent CPSU Central Committee decision on intensifying the struggle against drunkenness and alcoholism, in recent times many party organizations and law enforcing organs have slackened this work, and have deprived it of an aggressive spirit and comprehensiveness. The Central Committee Politburo has repeatedly called the attention of Comrade P.G. Osipenko, the republic's procurator; Comrade I.D. Gladush, Ukrainian minister of internal affairs; and Comrade V.I. Zaychuk, Ukrainian minister of justice, to shortcomings in the work of law-enforcement organs. They are bound to be more persistent in implementing the measures planned to strengthen legality and to foster legal culture in the republic.

Comrade A.A. Titarenko, who is responsible in the Central Committee Politburo for this sector of work, as well as the Central Committee's Administrative Organs Department along with its chief, Comrade A.S. Chumak, must take a closer look at the work performed by law-enforcement organs, by their leading cadres, must be stricter in evaluating the real state of affairs, and must make proposals in time.

Comrades, in summing up the results of the first chapter in the report, it is to be emphasized that democratization still has not profoundly imbued all basic party organizations and labor collectives. We still have not convinced all leading cadres and working people that wide democratization is a crucial problem determining the destiny of restructuring. What we need in this matter, which is novel in many respects, are initiative and an active application of experience which is already available, including the experience of the neighboring rayons, cities, and oblasts. It is also necessary to be more active in studying and applying good experience in fraternal republics, as well as in the countries of the socialist community. It is important to foster initiative and efficiency in these matters.

In short, we are bound to make full use of the enormous reserves of social activity of the masses, reserves which emerge with the progress of democratization, in the interests of people, and in the interests of accelerating the socioeconomic and intellectual progress of our society.

On Leadership in Restructuring the Economic Sphere [subhead]

Comrades, the Ukrainian Communist Party Central Committee Politburo has attached and attaches unabated attention to the realization of a radical economic reform. All major guidelines for this work have been provided for in a concrete plan elaborated with the participation of all Central Committee members for the measures which were approved by the July 1987 Plenum of the Ukrainian Communist Party Central Committee. Appropriate elaborations and proposals have been prepared on a number of major problems concerning economic development. Many of them have been taken into account in the decisions of the CPSU Central Committee and the USSR Council of Ministers, and have been reflected in the development plans for the country and the republic.

The Central Committee Politburo has constant insight into the entire complex of tasks connected with our contracted supplies of products to centralized stocks, with payments to the union budget, and with the fulfillment of the cash plan.

The Central Committee Politburo has repeatedly examined concrete questions concerning the radical restructuring of the economic mechanism, as well as the elaboration of a general scheme for national economic management in the republic, oblasts, and rayons.

Main guidelines for the activity of the Ukrainian Council of Ministers, and a new, improved structure of the latter's apparatus have been determined in line with the new requirements. We have eliminated 14 ministries and departments, and 83 medium-level organizations. Management in heavy industry branches has been reorganized. Some 1,500 enterprises, shops, sectors, and other structural subunits have been amalgamated. The management apparatus has already been cut by 80,000 persons with a combined annual salary of R227 million. This work is continuing.

A number of steps have been taken to raise the effectiveness of production, to deepen the programming and special-purpose methods of planning, to perfect management in scientific-technological progress, and to create inter-branch scientific-technological complexes, model units, and engineering centers. The main emphasis has been put on accelerating the reconstruction, reequipment, and comprehensive mechanization and automation of enterprises on the basis of advanced technologies.

It is important to note the useful work carried out by councils for promoting scientific-technological progress, councils existing under the Ukrainian Communist Party Central Committee, obkoms and many gorkoms.

The increased technological level of production is accountable for two-thirds of the increase in labor productivity. The pace of renewing manufactured goods has increased.

Work has intensified on resource-saving, and on the fuller utilization of secondary raw materials and production waste in economic circulation. Within the system of the State Committee for Material and Technical Supply, three regional centers have already been set up in the republic to prepare products for the consumer, and more than 100 workshops and centers rendering services to the consumer are in operation. Since the beginning of the 5-year plan period, virtually the entire growth in the consumption of rolled metal, cement, and timber has been provided by economizing, as has one-third of that of electrical and heat energy.

Taking the accumulated experience into account, the Central Committee Politburo considers the task of reaching the level of resource-saving planned for the end of the 5-year plan period in the current year to be a realistic one. Proposals have been submitted to the union organs on providing economic incentives for the utilization of secondary raw and other materials in production, on increasing the responsibility of union ministries and departments, and on expanding the rights of local soviets in this matter.

It stands to reason that we critically assess everything that has been done to restructure the economy, and that we realize that the main work still lies ahead and that efforts must be increased. It is all the more important to carry out a careful analysis of the first real results, in order to eliminate bottlenecks in good time and to accelerate our forward movement.

If we evaluate the state of affairs close up, as they say, the influence of intensive factors in the republic's economy has risen somewhat, most of the plan tasks of the first 2 years of the 5-year plan have been fulfilled, and it has been possible to exceed them in a number of important indexes. Thus, in 2 years the growth in production volumes in industry amounted to 8.6%, the target being 7.1%. Labor productivity rose 8.9%, as against the 6.7% stipulated in the 5-year plan. For the first time the entire growth of industrial production has been obtained through this factor.

There are changes for the better in agricultural production, too, although not of the order that is needed.

As a whole, the average annual rates of national income growth have increased by a factor of 1.2 as compared with the last 5-year plan, while that of profits has increased by a factor of 1.5.

All this is above all the result of the increasing activeness and initiative of many labor collectives which are supporting the restructuring process with concrete actions. The Komsomol youth brigades of the "Molodogvardeyskaya" and "Krasnolimanskaya" mines, which are led by Aleksandr Yakovlevich Kolesnikov and Valeriy Semenovich Kuznetsov, should be picked out among these brigades. Last year these brigades extracted 1 million tonnes of coal each, of which 222 and 140 tonnes respectively were above the plan.

We have a considerable number of such front-ranking collectives in various spheres. For example, all possible support is deserved by the initiative of the front-ranking production workers who have bound themselves to fulfill the plan for 3 years of the 5-year plan by the start of the 19th party conference. To be specific, about 100 miners' brigades of the Donbass recently adopted such a decision. Their working methods must be spread widely.

Thus, comrades, shifts in the necessary direction in the economic sphere do exist, and they are substantial shifts. However, all in all we are satisfied with neither the rates nor the scale of the work to restructure the economy, because we have not yet been able to fully activate the profound reserves and all the scientific-technological and economic levers.

Last year grave disruptions were allowed to happen in industrial work, especially in machine building, capital construction, and transport. The plans for product sales including deliveries are not being fulfilled. Last year alone, the products delivered to consumers were short by R2.6 billion (amounting to 2%). Virtually one in five enterprises has not coped with the plans for product deliveries and labor productivity growth.

The plans for 2 years of the 5-year plan for gross output and for the production of many agricultural crops have not been fulfilled.

One of the main causes of the above shortcomings lies in the fact that the Politburo's level of organizational work and its exactingness toward the Presidium of the Council of Ministers, the State Planning Committee, the Gosagroprom, the ministries, departments, and oblast ispolkoms, are still inadequate. They fail to carry out many important tasks, or else they do not accomplish them in time or in full. The Central Committee Politburo and Secretariat do not always provide a principled assessment of this. This must be put right without fail.

We hope that the new leadership of the republican Council of Ministers, and Comrade V.A. Masol personally, will decisively change the government's style and methods in accordance with its increased role and responsibility. The Council of Ministers Presidium must increase the demands it makes on the leaders of republican organs for introducing economic management methods, overcoming the departmental approach, and comprehensively solving economic and social tasks. It is also necessary to intensify the personal responsibility of deputy chairmen of the Council of Ministers for the state of affairs in branches of the national economy, for the effective utilization of scientific-technological potential, for rational deployment of productive forces, and for environmental protection.

Comrades, in our efforts to restructure the economy we have primarily picked out the sectors which play a key role in the national economy, as well as those where the situation is most complicated. However, the Council of Ministers, the State Planning Committee, the Secretariat, and the branch departments of the Central Committee have not ensured the fulfillment of all the planned measures to increase production efficiency. As a consequence, the number of enterprises which have fallen behind the set rates of labor productivity growth increased by a factor of 1.4 last year. Wages are rising more rapidly than labor productivity at one in four of the republic's enterprises.

Although the renewal of production funds has accelerated somewhat, there have not been any fundamental changes here yet. Even in such a key branch as machine building, which is expected to ensure progress in the national economy, no more than 3 or 4% of obsolete machines and equipment are withdrawn every year.

Comrade S.I. Gurenko, Central Committee secretary responsible to the Politburo for the machine building complex, is a person who thinks critically and is able to organize matters, but he is still displaying insufficient practical initiative. We were counting on his arrival in the Central Committee bringing an improvement in the situation in this sector, but for the moment this is not happening.

Or take such an urgent problem as that of product quality. At one time the work done in this area by the republic's party organizations and labor collectives was approved by the CPSU Central Committee. Later, however, attention to questions of quality weakened, and the state of affairs today should be evaluated as unsatisfactory. The relative proportion of the products in the highest quality category amounted to only 15.8% of the total volume of production last year, considerably lower than the plan.

There are many causes here, but one of the main reasons lies in the fact that ministries, departments, and the republican administration of the State Committee for Standards are clearly doing insufficient work on these matters. The plenum also has the right to make serious claims against Comrade Ya.P. Pogrebnyak, Central Committee Politburo candidate member, who dealt with this work sector for a long time as Central Committee secretary; against the Central Committee's machine building department; and against its head, Comrade V.M. Gayevoy, who was unable to organize timely and effective control over the fulfillment of decisions made.

The Central Committee Politburo has assigned paramount importance to the solution of problems connected with overcoming negative trends in the development of heavy industry and transport branches. The plenum's participants are aware of the measures undertaken by the Ukrainian Communist Party to strengthen individual components of these branches' leadership, including that within the State Planning Committee and the Council of Ministers of the Ukrainian SSR.

It has been possible to move off from a standstill in solving a number of complex problems which for a long time presented an obstacle to steady work by miners and metal workers. This has made it possible to substantially correct the state of affairs. In 2 years almost 10 million tonnes of coal, over 1 billion cubic meters of gas, and 495,000 tonnes of petroleum and condensate have been extracted over and above the plan.

At the beginning of 1985 a resolution was adopted by the CPSU Central Committee and USSR Council of Ministers on the development and technical reequipment of ferrous metallurgy, a resolution which took the republic's proposals into account. However, we were unable to ensure that the above resolution was fulfilled, and were criticized for this by the CPSU Central Committee.

The leaders of the former Ministry of Ferrous Metallurgy, the Ministry of Construction, and the Council of Ministers of the republic have done far from everything to implement the planned measures. Both the Secretariat and the Heavy Industry Department of the Central Committee are guilty of this, since they did not always assist the party organizations of labor collectives, and did not always submit timely and substantiated proposals for solving problems which arose.

It must be said for the sake of fairness that it was not only the republic's fault that a number of the set tasks were not fulfilled. USSR Gosplan and the USSR Ministry of Ferrous Metallurgy adopted a formalist attitude to the needs of the Ukraine's ferrous metallurgy. They did not provide for the full assignation of the necessary capital investments and did not include the construction of a number of important installations in the 5-year plan.

Moving on, serious organizational measures have been carried out to improve the state of affairs in capital construction: Management components have been enlarged, a republican Ministry of Construction has been set up in place of two previous ministries, and the Ukragrostroy association has been set up. Experienced cadres head the decisive sectors of the construction industry.

In short, the restructuring process is taking place in this sector. But as a whole the situation continues to be very complex. The transfer of construction subunits to direct subordination to the republican Council of Ministers has not yet led to positive shifts in this work. Moreover, there has recently been a de facto relaxation of the work to concentrate construction workers' forces and resources on the main tasks. The plans for assimilation of capital investments, for construction and assembly work, and for the activation of basic funds are not being fulfilled. A considerable delay has been permitted at machine building, ferrous metallurgy, light industry, and mineral fertilizer installations.

Comrade B.V. Kachura, Central Committee secretary responsible to the Politburo for party leadership of work in branches of the heavy industry and construction complex, is not sufficiently engaged in organizing the fulfillment of resolutions which have been adopted. In resolving numerous current tasks, he frequently omits long-term issues.

It is necessary to be more resolute in eliminating shortcomings in the republic's investment policy, to considerably strengthen the construction organizations' own base, and to increase production of construction materials and structures. Such important levers as economic accountability, contract prices, and the collective contract must be turned on to full force, otherwise it will be extremely difficult to cope with the increased tasks. It is primarily Comrades V.A. Masol, Yu.A. Kolomiyets, V.Z. Borisovskiy, B.A. Grechko, V.I. Ananyev, and the appropriate ministers who are obliged to organize this work.

Comrades, the most important task of the Central Committee, the Council of Ministers, and the Gosagroprom is to achieve a radical change in the development of the republic's ago-industrial complex. All our work in this area is determined by CPSU Central Committee decisions on food questions, and above all by a Central Committee resolution of paramount importance to us, the resolution "On the Work of Party, Soviet, and Economic Organs of the Ukrainian SSR to Increase Grain Production and Purchases in Light of the Demands of the 27th CPSU Congress."

In recent years the majority of kolkhozes and sovkhozes have assimilated scientifically substantiated cultivation systems. Intensive technologies have been introduced on one third of their land. Many kolkhozes and sovkhozes have started to make wide use of collective, family, and other forms of contract. All this has made it possible to increase the production and sale to the state of grain, sunflower seed, vegetables, potatoes, and all types of livestock products. In spite of the drought in six southern oblasts, the gross grain harvest in the republic was over 50 million tonnes last year. More than 18 million tonnes of grain were sold to the state.

However, as the Central Committee Politburo's examination has shown, there are serious shortcomings and omissions in the work of the Ukrainian SSR Gosagroprom and its local organs. Comrade Yu.A. Kolomiyets, candidate member of the Central Committee Politburo and chairman of the Ukrainian SSR Gosagroprom, is not fully coping with his obligations, and rarely makes on-the-spot visits.

The Gosagroprom is very slow in solving many problems which became ripe long ago. It is known, for instance, that the republic's southern and south-eastern oblasts cannot ensure steady grain production at all. However, in many kolkhozes and sovkhozes the volumes of work stipulated by the "Agrokompleks" program to increase soil fertility, among other things, are not being carried out. The application of organic fertilizers has even decreased in Voroshilovgrad, Nikolayev, and Kharkov Oblasts. Where is a high harvest to come from, then?

The soil-protecting plowless system represents a considerable reserve for increasing the productivity and steadiness of grain production in zones where cultivation is risky. Poltava Oblast, which initiated this system's development and introduction, has shown the effectiveness of this system in practice. Whereas the gross grain harvest in the oblast's kolkhozes and sovkhozes came to 1.9 million tonnes in the Eighth 5-Year Plan period, it then stabilized at the 2.3-million-tonne level and last year exceeded 3 million tonnes. Unfortunately, this experience is spreading on its own, without proper support and persistence on the part of the republican organs. Or take another issue. For many years now the republic has not been fulfilling the sugar production plan. The old methods predominate here, too, with the orientation being toward gross sugar output rather than the end product, sugar. But the experience of Vinnitsa, Ivano-Frankovsk, Kiev, Lvov, and other oblasts shows that 37 to 40 quintals or more of sugar can be obtained from every sown hectare, and that the plan can be fulfilled.

Serious disruptions are allowed to take place in the production and procurement of livestock output which, as is known, is inadequate for a normal supply for the population. There has been virtually no rise in meat output per standard head of livestock in the republic for a good 10 years now. The reasons for this lie above all in the grave shortcomings in organization, in the slow and sometimes formalist introduction of economic accountability and the collective contract in stock-raising units, in the unsatisfactory work of many specialists, and in the lack of radical shifts in fodder production.

The development of processing branches and the quality of their output also continue to be weak.

As is known, responsibility for developing the agro-industrial complex in the Central Committee rests with Comrade I.A. Mozgovoy, a Central Committee secretary. However, he displays insufficient initiative and consistency in his work, has a tolerant attitude to shortcomings in the Gosagroprom's operations, and reconciles himself to sluggishness in the restructuring of its oblast and rayon sectors. The Central Committee's Agriculture and Food Industry Department must concern itself in a better manner with the work of party organizations of the agro-industrial complex both centrally and locally, and also with the introduction of scientific achievements and progressive forms of labor organization.

A sharp turn must be achieved in the work of the agro-industrial complex—we have no other alternative.

Comrades, it is clear that the success of the restructuring process largely depends on how concretely and skillfully the party organs and economic organizations concern themselves with questions of the labor collectives' work under conditions of full economic accountability and self-financing. After all, even in the current year there are 2,373 enterprises working under the new conditions in the republic, and they must produce about 58% of industrial output. The economic reform has, in the most direct manner, affected the interests of about 8.5 million working people, or 40% of all those working in the republic's national economy.

In December last year the Central Committee Politburo, which attaches the greatest political importance to implementing the economic reform, discussed the entire complex of questions of ensuring steady work by enterprises under the new conditions. It was established that a number of the republic's branches and oblasts were not ensuring that all associations and enterprises were prepared in good time for the transition to full economic accountability and self-financing.

The Presidium of the Council of Ministers, the State Planning Committee, the Ministry of Finance, and the Trade Unions Council of the Ukrainian SSR have been slow to resolve a number of topical issues.

The Secretariat and the heads of Central Committee branch departments do not analyze the course of management restructuring in sufficient depth, and do not always notice negative trends as they become apparent, which prevents the adoption of measures to avert them.

It must be borne in mind that, since the beginning of the year, enterprises and organizations of the Ivano-Frankovsk, Crimean, and Chernovitsy Oblast agro-industrial complexes, which are in a sounder economic state, have transferred to the new conditions of economic management. Even in these oblasts, however, expenditure on production development is not entirely covered by their own funds, and there are also economic units with a low profit-rate here.

Party, soviet, and economic organs have implemented a complex of measures to improve the economies of kolkhozes and sovkhozes. Now that a certain amount of experience has been gained, analogous work must be carried out in every oblast, and conditions must be created in a very short space of time for the transfer of the entire system of the Ukrainian SSR Gosagroprom to the new conditions of economic management in 1989.

The Central Committee Politburo has committed members of the Council of Ministers Presidium and leaders of the republic's ministries and departments to ensuring that there is a substantial improvement in the financial situation of all branches of the national economy.

Nowadays everyone must firmly grasp the fact that funds must be earned. The main task now is to ensure in practice rather than in words that labor collectives actively participate in implementing the demands of the reform; to organize purposeful economic study; to eradicate parasitic attitudes at all levels; to constantly consult with workers on matters of labor organization and remuneration. This is precisely the manner of operation of the party organizations and leaders of the M.V. Frunze Sumy science and production association, the Lvov "Konveyer" association, the Kiev S.P. Korolev association, the "Prapor Komunizmu" Kolkhoz in Ivano-Frankovsk Oblast, the S.M. Kirovograd Kolkhoz in Kherson Oblast, the 25th CPSU Congress Sovkhoz in Rovno Oblast, and others.

Questions of rigorous observance of the USSR Law on State Enterprises (Associations) and of transferring to new wage scales and staff salaries must be under the special control of party committees and soviet and trade union organs. It must be borne in mind here that at the initial stage in the transition to full economic accountability, enterprises are operating under varying conditions—material, financial, and social. Care must be taken to pull those who lag up to the standard of the front runners.

It stands to reason that success primarily depends on the labor collectives themselves. But the ministries and departments must also support them, and render assistance if necessary. The leaders of enterprises and ministries bear the main responsibility for the correct and timely solution of these and other tasks.

Party committees must have a good knowledge of the situation in labor collectives working under the new conditions, and must reveal and eliminate in good time any shortcomings and difficulties which arise in the course of the economic reform.

The Central Committee Politburo objectively evaluates the extent to which it is responsible for ensuring that the republic's economy is restructured. At the same time, we consider that USSR Gosplan and the USSR Ministries of Ferrous Metallurgy and of the Coal Industry underestimate such acute and large-scale problems as the modernization of ferrous metallurgy enterprises, as well as the problem of developing the Donbass, which has been widely publicized in the press. These must be purposefully examined.

Comrades, our primary task is to ensure that from the very first days of the new year every labor collective works in a steady and rhythmic fashion, and to fulfill the intensive tasks of 1988. According to the operational data, most labor collectives have started work in the new year in an organized manner, on the whole. The average daily production of the most important types of industrial product has increased in comparison with December. Plans for freight transportation are being fulfilled and there are no disruptions in the power supply. Wintering is progressing fairly well in stock-raising. Livestock and poultry productivity has risen and product output is increasing in the majority of oblasts.

However, as the results of the first 20 days of work in the new year show, many enterprises and some branches have not caught up with the pace of the plan. Many enterprises in the machine building complex and in the chemical and light industries are working worse than they were in December. There are serious difficulties in fulfilling the commodity turnover plan, which is creating tension in ensuring the cash plan and the timely payment of wages.

These are all alarming symptoms which call for urgent measures. The Council of Ministers, the ministries, and the departments should intervene energetically to avert the need to spend the whole year catching up on what has been lost.

What, then, are the concrete conclusions from the first lessons of implementing the economic reform?

First of all, as analysis shows, work to eliminate loss-making by production units and to reduce the number of enterprises with a low profit-rate is still not being conducted actively enough. Many leaders make poor use of the long-term, lasting methods of economic improvement which the economic reform contains, but rather rely mainly on provisional measures and outside assistance, and request various kinds of indulgences and supplementary funds.

For this reason it is important for party organizations to adopt a principled policy here: not to adopt a parasitic standpoint, not to isolate enterprises at any price, but to help pull them out of their difficult financial situation by means of joint efforts, and to strive for profitable work.

Second, the main task here is to actively involve labor collectives in all the work to implement the economic reform and in the search for internal reserves. In order to do this a sense of independence and of responsibility for final results must be inculcated in working people, and above all in economic managers.

Third, it is important to make maximum use of the experience of enterprises already operating under the new conditions. After all, one of the lessons here is that the principles of economic accountability and self-financing have frequently not reached the lower rungs—the brigades, sectors, workshops, and individual workers. Consequently, working people have essentially been excluded from the economic reform being conducted.

Of course, it is nothing other than idle daydreaming to count on the new conditions of economic management beginning to work automatically.

To sum up what has been said, it should be stressed that the conduct of a radical reform calls for maximum involvement and activation of the human factor and the working people themselves. The role of the party organizations in this matter is truly irreplaceable.

Ensuring Priority Development of the Social Sphere [subhead]

Comrades, one of the key tasks of the restructuring process—that of increasing people's welfare and developing the social sphere has constantly been at the center of the party's attention. In the last 2 years the average monetary income of the republic's population has increased by R2.2 billion.

Restructuring is continuing in the system of labor remuneration in production branches of the national economy, a system which affects the interests of about 18.5 million people in the republic. Average monthly earnings for workers and employees have increased by 5.2% compared with 1987, according to preliminary data, while those of kolkhoz members have increased by 12%, figures which are higher than the planned calculations according to the 5-year plan.

In 1987 the earnings increase for teachers was completed, and this work is continuing in the sphere of health care and social security. Grants for those studying at technical schools and for other students have been increased, and pensions have been increased for certain population categories.

About R1 billion of budgetary appropriations was required for these purposes.

In only 2 years, payments and subsidies from social consumption funds have increased by more than 9%, or by R2.4 billion.

Increased attention has been paid to the standard of living of war and work veterans, internationalist soldiers, and of children living in children's homes and boarding-schools.

However, far from everything has been done that can and must be done, although it is clear to everyone that any omissions in this matter are inexcusable. This is all the more true now that the residual principle of distributing resources for social needs is being overcome and the volume of state investments for these purposes has been increased by more than 25% in comparison with the volume planned at the beginning of the 5-year plan period.

The first results have been achieved in accelerating the solution of the housing problem. In 2 years housing has been constructed with a total area which is 7 million square meters greater than was outlined in the 5-year plan. This year another 2.5 million square meters will be added to this. (That is, 190,000 apartments in 3 years. That is good, but not enough.) The economic method is being developed. Young people's housing complexes and cooperatives are being developed. The volumes of capital repairs to communal apartments for conversion to single-family apartments are increasing.

But the republic's housing problem continues to be a complex one. There are 2.2 million people on the waiting-list for apartments, one-third of whom are in urgent need. In this situation the failure of Kirovograd, Kherson, and Chernigov Oblasts, above all, to assimilate all the funds appropriated for housing construction is quite intolerable.

In order to solve the housing problem in accordance with the directives of the 27th CPSU Congress, the republic will have to increase the volumes of housing commissioned in the 13th 5-Year-Plan period by 15%, compared with the present plan period, and those commissioned in the 14th 5-Year-Plan period by 25%. It is a serious task, and it is clear that serious preparations must be made for solving this problem.

However, the Central Committee Politburo and the Council of Ministers Presidium have not yet provided for the development in the republic and its oblasts of a realistic program, calculated in terms of both volume and time, to ensure that everything necessary is done to increase the construction volumes of housing and of installations of social, cultural, and everyday life. Comrade V.Z. Borisovskiy, deputy chairman of the Council of Ministers, the State Planning Committee (Comrade V.P. Fokin), the State Construction Committee (Comrade G.K. Zlobin), the ministers, and the leaders of departments and oblast ispolkoms must all concern themselves with this urgently, and in a considerably more purposeful manner.

The Central Committee Politburo has been working constantly, almost every day, on questions of the supply of food to the population. The situation has grown somewhat worse recently. Thus, last year the per capita consumption of meat products was over 67 kilograms and that of milk was over 359 kilograms, amounts which were 7.3 and 8.5% higher than the average level in the last 5-year plan period. Food products worth R234 million rubles have been produced at the reconfigured enterprises which used to make alcoholic beverages.

A substantial addition to our table is provided by the population's private auxiliary plots, which produced 1.8 million tonnes of meat and a large quantity of other products last year. The contribution made by the individual sector to the buildup of food resources could be significantly increased through the integration of personal plots and social production. The CPSU Central Committee recently examined the work which Ternopol Oblast is doing in this area. A third of all milk, a quarter of the livestock and poultry, and about half the tomatoes which were procured here had been produced in the individual sector on a cooperative basis, and the breeding of geese is also being actively developed in this way.

Much is being done to establish cooperation between the population's plots, the kolkhozes, and the sovkhozes to produce livestock items in Zhitomir Oblast and in a number of rayons in Chernovitsy, Lvov, and Odessa Oblasts.

More active use must also be made of such reserves as the development of the auxiliary plots of industrial enterprises, and of collective horticulture and market gardening.

At one time the CPSU Central Committee supported the initiative of people in Voroshilovgrad Oblast on increasing food product output by means of local resources. Much has been done in this respect in such oblasts as Dnepropetrovsk, Lvov, and Khmelnitskiy. Unfortunately, the same cannot be said of Kharkov, Sumy, and some other oblasts.

Despite the acute food problem in a number of oblasts, violations of state discipline have been committed in the utilization of livestock products. In Zaporozhye and Odessa Oblasts excessive amounts of milk were used for local consumption, while the planned deliveries to centralized stocks had not been fulfilled. Plans for deliveries to union republic stocks were not fulfilled, and the meat supply resources for the population were significantly reduced in Nikolayev Oblast and, as has already been mentioned, in Kirovograd Oblast.

Comrades Ye.V. Kachalovskiy, I.A. Mozgovoy, and Yu.A. Kolomiyets did not take effective action on these extraordinary cases—and you cannot call them anything but extraordinary. The Central Committee Politburo was forced to issue serious warnings to party obkom first secretaries and oblast ispolkom chairmen.

To turn to this year, as a whole the market food stocks in the republic are making it possible to provide the population with most types of food product. The existing vegetable and potato resources are also sufficient for the period between seasons (given that they are stored properly, of course).

As far as meat and milk resources are concerned, a tense situation is developing in a number of oblasts today, especially those which have suffered drought. In order to prevent the achieved level of consumption from falling, above all as a result of market stocks at state prices, it is necessary to substantially increase the production of livestock products, and also to ensure that procurement plans for these products are overfulfilled. There is simply no other way out for us.

It is important to give a convincing explanation of the situation which has developed to working people in kolkhozes and sovkhozes, because some of them have outlined plans for 1988 which are lower than the de facto achieved level.

In the near future the Central Committee Politburo will approve additional measures to increase food production in the current 5-year plan. All sectors of the agroindustrial complex and the party and soviet organs are obliged to approach the implementation of these measures with a high degree of political responsibility, as well as to make maximum use of all existing potential.

Comrades, as a result of the measures taken, the supply of durables and other nonfood consumer items to the republic's population has somewhat improved. The shortages of certain types of products are being eliminated slowly, but eliminated nonetheless. New products, which are both good and in demand, are appearing. In particular, third-generation television sets, new brands of tape recorders, two-compartment refrigerators, improved washing machines, and other modern goods have been put into production.

Yet consumer demand, primarily for certain types of clothing, footwear, and even everyday items is being met poorly.

Positive progress in the operation of local industry has not been made. This is primarily a result of the poor level of leadership on the part of the Ukrainian SSR Ministry of Local Industry and a lack of comformity to plan and purposefulness in its work to modernize and retool enterprises and to resolve long-term questions. Comrade Minister Yu.A. Bondar was seriously criticized at the July (1987) Ukrainian Communist Party Central Committee Plenum. But he did not make the necessary conclusions. The Council of Ministers and Central Committee departments should increase their attention to this sector—it is also necessary to help in restructuring and to make the proper demands on it.

The Central Committee Politburo has taken measures to strengthen the management of light industry, and the material-technical supply to the sector's enterprises has been improved. But here, too, there has still not been the necessary turning point. The majority of enterprises are unsatisfactorily updating equipment, are not fulfilling contractual commitments, and are working, in the old way, on the basis of production volume.

G.V. Dzis, deputy chairman of the Ukrainian SSR Council of Ministers, is trying, with enviable perseverence, to persuade us that it is very difficult to improve things, because supposedly there are simply no opportunities for rapid and qualitative changes. Comrade M.A. Skoromnyuk, chief of the Central Committee Department of Light Industry and Consumer Goods, has not taken a firm and consistent stand in a number of instances. For the time being it has not been possible to properly involve group "A" sectors in the production of consumer goods. Enterprises of the defense sectors of industry are slowly developing the work to retool production units producing goods for the population.

The republic's Council of Ministers, State Planning Committee, and State Committee for Material and Technical Supply are obliged to carry out particular supervision of the sectors producing consumer goods and to give them the necessary assistance.

Comrades, the Central Committee Politburo and Secretariat have recently increased exactingness toward cadres for the improvement of trade and consumer services for the population. The Ukrainian Communist Party Central Committee's discussion of the work of the Ministry of Trade and of the Ukrainian SSR Union of Consumer Societies showed that they are poorly restructuring in the necessary direction and slowly eliminating the accumulated shortcomings. Irregularities in the sale of even those goods for which there are sufficient resources give rise to justified public dissatisfaction. According to a number of indicators, state trade and consumer cooperatives in our republic are lagging behind the average union level, including our neighbors—the Russian Federation and Belorussia.

The work of the republic's Ministry of Consumer Services has recently improved somewhat, plans are being fulfilled, but today this is clearly no longer enough. Moreover, the number of complaints about the long time frames and the low quality of fulfillment of orders, about requisitions, and about the inconvenient operating schedule of enterprises is not diminishing.

Enterprises and organizations of the republic's Gosagroprom, Ministry of the Construction Materials Industry, Ministry of Construction, Ministry of Culture, State Committee for Physical Culture and Sports, and of a number of union ministries are poorly developing paid services for the population.

Specific additional measures are very necessary now to sharply accelerate development of the paid services sphere, primarily in the renovation and construction of housing in accordance with the public's orders, the comprehensive outfitting of apartments, and the building of orchard plots. For this purpose it is necessary to more actively develop cooperatives and individual labor activity. Last year about 3,000 cooperatives were registered in the republic, and 1,700 of them have begun operations. The volume of their output and services amounted to R41 million. This, of course, is not enough.

It should be said that, in questions of the management of trade and consumer services, there have been many oversights in the work of Comrade Ye.V. Kachalovskiy, Central Committee Politburo member, for which he has been repeatedly criticized.

Economic reform also provides new opportunities in this sphere, and they must be fully utilized.

The Central Committee Politburo and party and soviet organs have not done everything possible to overcome the serious shortcomings that have accumulated in health services. Many hospitals, maternity homes, polyclinics, and dispensaries are located in old converted buildings, do not have central heating and water supplies, and are in need of capital repair or renovation. At the same time the resources allocated for the development of this sector's material base are not being fully assimilated. The republic's Ministry of Health and Comrade Minister A.Ye. Romanenko personally are not properly organizing all these matters.

The problem of old people living alone requires particular attention. However, despite the acuteness of these question, plans to build old people's homes in Kharkov, Zaporozhye, Chernigov, and certain other oblasts are constantly falling through.

Comrade M.A. Orlik has been repeatedly reprimanded for the state of affairs in health services, and other deputy chairmen of the republic's Council of Ministers are dealing unsatisfactorily with social questions.

The results of the work to develop the social sphere would be considerably better if the soviets of people's deputies were to fully exercise their rights and display initiative and perseverence, including in the pooling [kooperirovaniye] of resources of enterprises and organizations.

The Council of Ministers Presidium and Central Committee secretaries have not achieved a decisive shift to these important tasks by many party obkoms and republican and local soviet organs.

We must always remember that the social sphere is precisely the field where millions of people every day encounter many problems, and people ultimately judge the effectiveness of the work of party and soviet organs and the course of restructuring by the way they are tackled.

Leadership of the Restructuring of Ideological Work [subhead]

Comrades, in carrying out the restructuring of ideological work, the Ukrainian Communist Party Central Committee Politburo has primarily steered the efforts of party committees and all ideology cadres toward enriching all spiritual life via the ideas of the 27th party congress and subsequent CPSU Central Committee plenums, toward teaching people in practice to live under conditions of deepening democracy, and toward enhancing the political culture and activeness of the masses.

As past plenums and meetings have shown, our cadres are developing, if one may say so, a "taste" for educational work, and their ability to converse lucidly with various audiences and hold, if need be, sharp discussions is increasing.

So as to increase the effectiveness of propaganda and agitation, Central Committee departments and party committees have begun using more widely the experimental testing of new forms of work. The Ukrainian Communist Party Central Committee has approved, in particular, the experience of restructuring propaganda lectures in Kharkov, Crimean, Vinnitsa, and other oblasts. We are seeking to actively disseminate the experience of the new organization of mass political work by the party committees of Zhitomir and Donetsk Oblasts, of political and economic training in Kiev and Cherkassy Oblasts, of counterpropaganda in Lvov and Chernovitsy Oblasts, and of atheistic work in Ivano-Frankovsk and Ternopol Oblasts.

Taking into account the tasks of restructuring, the Central Committee Politburo has increased attention to the work of mass information media and is concerned about improving the provision of information to journalists and about enhancing the authority of newspaper, television, and radio items. Incidentally, many of the shortcomings that have been discussed today were revealed precisely in items by union and republican newspapers and journals. In the period since the 27th party congress, the Central Committee has supported 12 press items concerning problems. Party obkoms have supported more than 200 such items. Practical steps have been taken to strengthen the printing base of the press and to improve the working conditions and living standards of journalists. The construction of a republican television center has reached the planned tempo.

All this is positive, as it were. But one cannot fail to see the fact that certain mass media organs do not always give effective and profound coverage of the urgent processes taking place in society.

Republican television and radio is restructuring its work slowly. The opportunities that exist here in publicizing the experience of restructuring and shaping high moral ideals and healthy esthetic tastes, particularly in the younger generation, are being utilized inadequately.

We cannot fail to be concerned about the fact that certain editorial collectives turned out to be unprepared, under the conditions of restructuring, to react in a timely and politically correct manner to the growing diversity in people's opinions and to develop a useful dialogue. Instances when certain facts in publications and programs are distorted and slanted, and the ideological criteria of assessing events and phenomena are eroded have become more frequent. Unfortunately, certain union publications have also not avoided this. Even undisguised disinformation contained in controversial materials often remains unanswered and unclarified. This is permitted not only by certain youth publications, but also by the newspapers LITERATURNA UKRAINA, RADYANSKA OSVITA, RADYANSKA UKRAINA, and even television and radio.

The leaders of the mass information media and the party organizations of editorial collectives are directly accountable for these shortcomings. After all, glasnost is not omnivorous information. It does not abolish but, on the contrary—as stressed at the recent meeting in the CPSU Central Committee with the leaders of mass information media, ideological institutions, and creative unions—requires a party viewpoint by journalists and a responsible approach to shaping public opinion.

Of course, there would be considerably fewer of these and other shortcomings if the Central Committee Department of Propaganda and Agitation and Comrade L.M. Kravchuk analyzed more deeply and incisively the work of editorial staff and gave them more assistance in deepening restructuring.

The Central Committee Politburo and Secretariat seek to constantly keep in their field of vision the processes taking place in the cultural sphere and in creative unions. The efforts by writers, artists, composers, and movie and theater people are being channeled into the further development of cultural values and the enrichment of people's entire spiritual life. On the basis of proposals and remarks expressed at writers', artists', and cinematographers' congresses measures have been taken to improve the working conditions of creative unions, to accelerate the building of clubs and palaces of culture, to improve the work of amateur associations, and to ensure the preservation of museum exhibits. Practical steps are being taken to improve theater and concert activity and to develop fine arts and cinematography.

It should be noted that the program of restructuring has met with the approval of the republic's artistic intelligentsia, and they are increasingly aware of their responsibility and their role in the democratic renewal of life. If somewhere passions are boiling, particularly over questions of the expansion of democracy and glasnost, this should not be feared. The important thing is that party organizations do not permit the use of the broad rights that have now been given to creative unions in order to satisfy ambitious pretensions and displays of cliquishness, not to mention demagoguery and political indifference. This is particularly intolerable when the public and literary and art critics are justifiably expressing concern about the lagging behind of Ukrainian literature, movies, and theater, and the serious shortcomings in variety concert activities.

Indeed, comrades, we have few works that could become phenomena in the country's spiritual life.

It should be noted that the republic's Ministry of Culture is permitting complacency in assessing the state of affairs, is not singling out the main tasks, and is very slowly implementing the useful initiatives of the artistic intelligentsia. Restructuring here is virtually inconspicuous, and there are serious oversights in the work with cadres. The Ukrainian SSR State Committee for Cinematography has weakened its influence on the ideological-artistic orientation and the standard of released movies.

The Central Committee Department of Culture and its chief, Comrade B.V.Ivanenko, have permitted substantial shortcomings. The department's workers often operate inefficiently and they lack vigor, and therefore their influence on the processing taking place in the cultural sphere is not even modest.

The Politburo attaches paramount importance to the entire package of tasks associated with the restructuring of the instruction and education of the younger generation. The course of implementing school reform and the restructuring of higher and secondary specialized education is being systematically examined by the Central Committee. There has been definite progress here. However, on the whole, the situation in this very important sector requires that we step up our efforts.

In view of the upcoming CPSU Central Committee plenum, which will discuss the course of the restructuring of secondary and higher schools and the party tasks for its further implementation, it is necessary for party committees to thoroughly analyze the work being done in this area and to accelerate the resolution of practical questions. This, of course, concerns the Ministry of Education, the Ministry of Higher and Secondary Specialized Education, the State Committee for Vocational and Technical Education, and the party organizations of educational institutions.

It must be said that our social science is still poorly providing help in restructuring ideological work and the education and raising of the younger generation. Having analyzed the work of the institutes of the Ukrainian SSR Academy of Sciences that specialize in the humanities, the Central Committee concluded that the section headed by the academy's vice president Comrade I.I. Lukinov does not always critically assess results and poorly focuses efforts of scientists on research into the urgent processes taking place in public life. Nor can we be satisfied with the work of many departments specializing in social science and the level of teaching of social sciences in a number of VUZ's, which diminishes young people's interest in revolutionary theory and complicates the process of shaping their world outlook and political culture. This is a serious shortcoming in the work of the Central Committee Department of Sciences and Educational Institutions and of its chief, Comrade F.M. Rudich.

Comrades, the implementation and propaganda of the Leninist nationality policy has always been under the constant supervision of the Central Committee Politburo. The measures approved last year by the Politburo to strengthen people's patriotic and international education, to improve the exchange of experience and of spiritual values with fraternal republics, and to develop inter-nationality relations are being consistently fulfilled.

We approach the elaboration of practical steps to carry out the party's nationality policy with sensitivity and prudence, thoroughly analyze public opinion, consider the interests of various categories of working people, the multinational makeup of the republic's population, and the sociocultural requirements of the national minorities living in compact communities [kompaktno]. In the process, people's increased attention to questions of historical and cultural heritage and language problems is being taken into account.

Today we have good reason to say that there are no serious negative manifestations in the republic on the basis of nationality. Russians, Belorussians, Moldavians, Jews, and the representatives of about 100 other nationalities and national groups live and work alongside Ukrainians as a friendly family.

Of course, this does not mean that we consider the development of inter-nationality relations as some kind of problem-free process. Any manifestations of national narrow-mindedness and parochialism are resolutely condemned.

We have solved and will solve all the problems in this sphere, as M.S. Gorbachev noted in his book, "Restructuring and New Thinking for Our Country and the Whole World," "within the framework of the democratic process, strengthening our internationalist community of peoples."

In ideological work we have also always taken into account that bourgeois and bourgeois-nationalist propaganda is trying to distort the essence of restructuring and to step up speculation about its difficulties and about the processes of democratization and glasnost. Therefore, party committees have always endeavored to react promptly to the enemy's ideological sabotage, including its attempts to use certain autonomous [samodeyatelnyye] organizations for their purposes. Active ideological and organizational pressure was applied on their activities to neutralize the aspirations of demagogues and extremists.

At the same time the Politburo, in giving a principled assessment of the state of affairs on the ideological front, also sees substantial shortcomings. We feel that ideological-educational work still lacks depth and effectiveness and the capability of considering the real situation. It does not always keep up with the processes taking place in life. Stereotypes of the past and an endeavor to act in accordance with a layout developed in another time are still strong here. All this constrains people's initiative and creativity, and prevents many people from ridding themselves of social apathy.

As the reports of the Zaporozhye, Poltava, and other party obkoms to the Ukrainian Communist Party Central Committee have shown, a proportion of our ideological cadres were unable to rapidly assimilate the new approaches and to skillfully use in practice the political precepts worked out by the CPSU Central Committee.

It should be said that neither the Central Committee Politburo nor the Secretariat have made full use of existing opportunities to give party committees assistance in this. Central Committee Secretary Comrade Yu.N. Yelchenko at times lacked initiative and dynamism in restructuring ideological work. He should display more persistence in the timely resolution of such important tasks as cadre support for key ideological sectors and the work of creative unions.

Comrades, in finishing this section, it is necessary to stress that we must make additional and considerable efforts so as to make full use of the favorable conditions existing now—both ideological-theoretical and sociopolitical—and to infuse more substance into scientific research in the sphere of social science, political instruction, propaganda lectures, propaganda, and all forms of ideological and educational work. It is necessary to make them vivid and interesting. After all, people are striving to read more, to see more, and to know more. It is necessary to do everything so that these needs are satisfied as fully as possible and so that increasingly wide sections of our people are clearly aware of the necessity and essence of restructuring and renewal, and so that they implement it more actively.

On the Restructuring of Cadre Work [subhead]

Comrades, you remember that the March (1987) Ukrainian Communist Party Central Committee Plenum made a detailed analysis of cadre work in the republic. In view of its conclusions and assessments, we have increased attention to the study of the political, professional, and ethical qualities of cadres.

In all sectors we strive, as Vladimir Ilich Lenin demanded, to select cadres "exclusively according to new yardsticks, according to new tasks."

It has been necessary to replace a proportion of workers. Altogether, 1,912 workers approved by the Central Committee have been replaced for various reasons since the CPSU congress, including 110 people who were released for not coping with the entrusted tasks. In particular, Comrades Z.S. Kovalchuk and V.I. Zhibrov, the first and second secretaries of the Volyn Party Obkom, who permitted crude errors in the selection and placement of cadres and liberalism to persons who abused their official positions, were released from their posts. Comrade B.T. Goncharenko, first secretary of the Voroshilovgrad Party Obkom, was released from his duties for serious oversights in his work, including with regard to cadres of law-enforcement organs. The leadership of a number of other party obkoms and oblispolkoms has been strengthened.

Serious cadre changes have taken place in the top echelon of administration. The chairman of the republic's Council of Ministers and five of his deputies, seven ministers, and 6 chairman of state committees have been replaced.

The exchange of cadres between the central and oblasts organs has been expanded, and 17 Central Committee workers have been sent to local organs. There is no doubt that the "horizontal" transfer of cadres—between oblasts and rayons—is also beneficial.

The Central Committee nomenklatura has been cut by almost one-third.

The cadre reserve has been reviewed. The workers that have been included in it in the posts of party obkom secretaries and oblispolkom chairmen and their deputies, is an average of 10 years younger than the current makeup.

The opportunities of obtaining a party-political education have been expanded: Enrollment to the Kiev Higher Party Schools has increased, and the question of the opening of the Odessa Higher Party School has been resolved.

Practical training at the best party committees has been organized for party raykom and gorkom first secretaries who have been elected for the first time.

Restructuring of the economic mechanism has required us to devote ourselves more deeply to the economic training of party, soviet, and economic cadres.

The Central Committee Politburo has carefully studied questions of improving the training and use of specialists having a higher education, of scientific and technical cadres, and of cadres for the assimilation of new equipment and technology in various sectors of the national economy.

In short, there have been advances—substantial ones—in cadre work. The main thing now is to find, promote, and support innovative, thinking, and energetic workers, who are capable of deeply analyzing and critically assessing the state of affairs, to infuse a fresh and vigorous spirit into the work capable of overcoming difficulties and achieving success. Moreover, it is necessary today to teach cadres not only competence but independence and the skill of working without prompting, and to give everyone an opportunity to reveal his abilities. After all, restructuring needs generators of ideas, capable of mustering the initiative of the masses and of animating people and leading them, particularly under difficult and at times extreme conditions.

Serious conclusions on the need to increase the responsibility of cadres working at particularly important facilities were made in connection with the accident at the Chernobyl AES, as well as the distressing maritime and railway transportation accidents. The persons at fault were brought to strict account. Party committee supervision of the state of production discipline and educational work in AES collectives and at other similar facilities and in the transportation sphere has been strengthened.

It should be mentioned that the Chernobyl misfortune, whose consequences the entire country helped to remedy, was for the Soviet people and many of our cadres a real test of fortitude and courage. Moreover, it was necessary to adapt "on the run," in the full sense of the word, depending on the prevailing situation. This difficult test continues—it is necessary to fulfill to the end the task of comprehensively outfitting rural settlements adjacent to the accident zone, to complete the construction of the town of Slavutych, and to provide normal working conditions for the power station's personnel. It should be said that the USSR Ministry of Power and Electrification, the republican Central Committee departments, and particularly the Council of Ministers should take a more active stand on this matter.

Comrades, using the precepts of the CPSU Central Committee October (1987) Plenum as a guide, it is important to identify and neutralize the maneuvers of those are not taking measures to eliminate shortcomings in restructuring and slowing things down. It is also impermissible to give in to pressure from immoderately zealous and impatient persons who seek, figuratively speaking, to spur on the restructuring and to speed it up without considering the real possibilities and results.

One also encounters instances when, because of a lack of trained reserves, there is sluggishness in cadre rearrangement in places where it has have become unavoidable. On the other hand, there are frequent cases of excessive haste and confusion in the replacement of cadres, shooting from the hip, as they say. It is obvious that nothing good comes of this.

In our opinion, the Zaporozhye Party Obkom often permits inconsistency in cadre questions. There was obvious tardiness in the replacement of first secretaries of the Berdyansk Party Gorkom and Berdyanskiy Party Raykom, the chairmen of the Zaporozhye and Berdyansk Gorispolkoms, and the secretary of the "Zaporozhstal" party committee. Sometimes Comrade A.P. Sazonov has to be restrained from making hasty cadre decisions. For instance, the proposals to replace a number of obkom department chiefs and managers of large enterprises were unwarranted.

As practice shows, today people support those leaders who not only know their job, but who also possess high ethical qualities, adhere to party principles, keep their word, and understand a person's soul, so to speak.

The Central Committee Politburo and party obkoms have considerably intensified the struggle against deviations from party ethics, moral norms, and Soviet laws. But, unfortunately, we have not yet fully eradicated these evils.

The Central Committee continues to receive many signals of serious work errors, incorrect behavior, and abuses by leaders. The number of these letters from Vinnitsa, Donetsk, Dnepropetrovsk, Kiev, and Kharkov

Oblasts has increased, and a proportion of these signals have been corroborated. All this obliges us to continue to pursue a firm line of strengthening party and state discipline, increasing supervision, particularly "from below," and of resolutely ridding ourselves of those who forget their duty.

An important role in this belongs to the Party Control Commission of the Ukrainian Communist Party Central Committee. Its workers have allowed certain mistakes, but on the whole the commission and its chairman, Comrade A.P. Botvin, are working actively, are exacting toward violators of the CPSU Statute, and are attentive to people's fate.

We are obliged to be even more strict in following how the Leninist requirement of the accountability, primarily to primary party organizations, of leading Communists who have committed offenses is observed. There have undoubtedly been changes for the better here. But nonetheless, last year 13% of leaders brought to account were punished in circumvention of primary organizations (in 1984 it was almost half).

The Central Committee Politburo is concerned not only by the violations and abuses, but also by the fact that sometimes the attitude of local authorities to this is not sufficiently incisive and principled.

Instances when even party obkoms take the necessary measures with regard to violations only after persistent intervention by the Central Committee are not isolated. For instance, we recently checked the observance of housing legislation in all oblasts. Serious shortcomings have been revealed. For example, in Pyatikhatskiy Rayon in Dnepropetrovsk Oblast, out of the 25 families of invalids of the Great Patriotic War and internationalist wars that were on the housing waiting list, not one obtained housing in 1987. At the same time, the rayispolkom provided housing, out of turn, to 11 other families, most of which were not on the waiting list. Measures have now been taken. But the questions arises, why do the oblispolkom, Comrade Yu.P. Babich, and local soviet organs permit this lack of supervision?

The Central Committee Politburo considers that ensuring an organic combination of young and experienced cadres and the promotion of leading workers and peasants, women, and nonparty people to leadership work as a most important task. We also constantly see to it, concerned that the makeup of cadres reflects the national makeup of the the republic's population.

In the selection and placement of cadres it is also necessary to make better use of such an effective tool as certification.

Work with cadres was, is, and will be a party job. The Central Committee and party obkoms, gorkoms, and raykoms are responsible for any breakdowns in it.

Members of the Central Committee have validly remarked that the Ukrainian Communist Party Politburo and Secretariat should study cadres at work, to train them on the basis of specific tasks, and to more actively support initiatives.

It is necessary to frankly and openly express one's opinion on the virtues and shortcomings of workers. But if required, one must defend from demagogues and slanderers.

A brief word about the Central Committee apparatus.

While increasing the role of Central Committee members and increasingly expanding their specific and practical involvement in Central Committee activities, the Politburo is simultaneously increasing the responsibility of workers for the analysis and elaboration of proposals, the implementation of adopted decisions, and the carrying out of supervision.

The Central Committee apparatus has 453 officials. The majority of them are politically mature and competent people. There are experienced people and young people. The overwhelming majority honestly and consciously fulfill the job entrusted to them.

At the same time, we see that it is necessary to restructure the work of the apparatus both more quickly and more thoroughly. One can only agree with the view of many party obkoms that certain of our workers are put the stress on checks—at times they like to instruct but give little practical assistance. It seems that the fact that Central Committee secretaries still rarely meet workers of the apparatus, do not always properly analyze how restructuring is going in departments, and do not aim for the proper depth, precision, and efficiency in their work also has an impact here.

The Central Committee Secretariat needs to accelerate the restructuring of the work of all departments and inspectors' groups on the basis that Central Committee workers are also responsible for the fulfillment of party and government decisions locally.

Comrades, as already mentioned, the Politburo in its report sought to critically analyze the course of restructuring in the republic, to show its initial experience, to reveal shortcomings, and to report in the frank party fashion to the Central Committee plenum on what we have achieved and what we have not been able or managed to implement for the time being.

Indeed, we have done by no means everything that we intended. We have not been able to fully cover all the tasks of democratization, economic reform, and the development of the social sphere, and have not always incisively assessed the state of affairs. Certain shortcomings that have already appeared during the restructuring are not being eliminated in a timely fashion.

Each Politburo member has not made the same contribution to the common task, which was discussed earlier. Individual members of the Politburo have not always displayed the necessary activeness in discussing questions that do not apply directly to their sphere of activity, and have sometimes not paid proper attention to the analytical aspect of the matter.

After all, the republic is large, there are many problems, and to correctly and objectively assess the situation, the work of party committees and one's own work, it is necessary to see trends more deeply, and know more fully the strong and weak points of leading cadres. It is precisely this that we sometimes lack and hence the oversights, including those in cadre questions. Of course, there would be fewer of these shortcomings if all of us were more prompt in taking measures to eliminate them and displayed more creative initiative and purposefulness, and make sure that everything that is new and useful becomes more quickly the common property of party committees.

It is quite clear that the responsibility for existing shortcomings in the work of the Ukrainian Communist Party Central Committee is borne primarily by the first secretary of the Central Committee. It is necessary to acknowledge that I have not managed to fully ensure that each Politburo member and Central Committee department eliminate more quickly outdated and inefficient forms of work and answer for the state of affairs in their entrusted sector without pleading objective difficulties. It is necessary for me to more resolutely free myself from the load of the work that should be opportunely and fully done by the Council of Ministers and other republican organs so as to have more time and opportunities to study major questions and promising tasks, for contacts with party obkoms, and for meeting people on the spot.

We self-critically acknowledge that the Ukrainian Communist Party Central Committee and other party committees have done very little to avoid the economic functions not inherent in party organs, that local visits by Politburo members are not as frequent as they should be, and moreover, they are not always sufficiently effective. There needs to be a fundamental turning point in this matter.

Comrades, a number of proposals have been submitted at the party committee plenums and meetings of Communists that have been held. By way of summation, the essence here lies in deepening the processes of restructuring and democratization, purging to the utmost intraparty relations of formalism, bureaucratism, and petty regulation, and creating all the conditions for the creative initiative of Communists and for the broad involvement of the working people in all social matters.

In particular, we feel that the proposals on developing a clear-cut status for members of elected party organs, which would define their rights and responsibilities, are critical. It is necessary, in our opinion, to also have a positive attitude toward the proposals on the statutory consolidation of the election of party committee secretaries by secret voting on two-to-three candidates.

It is also proposed to expand the rights of party committees in determining the structure and staff of their apparatus as it applies to local conditions.

Many Communists consider it necessary to sharply reduce and simplify accountability reports [otchetnost] and paper work, particularly in the party grass-roots components.

The success of restructuring, it was noted at the plenums and meetings, depends on how public opinion is taken into account in deciding urgent questions and on the soundness of the feedback between the masses and the party. It seems that here one can no longer make do with occasional observations and surveys—systematic sociological research is needed. In this connection, it seems expedient to create appropriate scientific institutions to study public opinion and to elaborate recommendations for the practical sphere.

In view of the accumulated experience, proposals were submitted on the improvement of the electoral system.

There were also other proposals concerning economic reform and the development of the social sphere.

Incoming local proposals, as well as those that will be expressed by the plenum's participants, will be generalized and taken into account in practical work. They will be reported to the CPSU Central Committee.

Comrades, in concluding the report, it is necessary to stress that today boldness and realism, lack of complacency about past achievements, and the ability to see the long term and to seek the maximum return are needed as never before.

There is no doubt the the republic's party organization and our cadres have enough experience and political will to cope with new tasks, which have grown both in volume and complexity.

We are convinced that the Central Committee members will profoundly and exactingly discuss the Politburo report, supplement it, give an objective and principled assessment to the work done, and also submit specific and constructive proposals on the deepening of restructuring and the acceleration of the republic's socioeconomic development.

Central Committee Resolution

AU311940 Kiev PRAVDA UKRAINY in Russian 24 January 1988 pp 1-2

[Accountability Report of the Politburo of the Ukrainian Communist Party on the Work Performed in the Leadership of Restructuring. Resolution of the Plenum of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of the Ukraine."]

[Text] I [Roman one]

Having heard and discussed the accountability report of the Politburo of the Ukrainian Communist Party on the work performed in the leadership of restructuring, which was delivered by V.V. Shcherbitskiy, first secretary of the Central Committee, the plenum of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of the Ukraine considers that the Politburo and Secretariat of the Central Committee are, by fulfilling the decisions of the 27th Party Congress and subsequent CPSU Central Committee plenums, implementing the party's course of restructuring and accelerating socioeconomic development. The main efforts here are being concentrated on the solution of two key problems: the further democratization of all aspects of social life and the implementation of a radical economic reform.

The Ukraine Communist Party Central Committee plenum stresses the fact that the principled conclusions and tasks formulated at the CPSU Central Committee October (1987) Plenum and in the report "October and Restructuring. The Revolution Continues" by Comrade M.S. Gorbachev, general secretary of the CPSU Central Committee, are of the greatest importance for political, ideological, and organizational work at the second stage of the restructuring process.

A new political, moral, and psychological atmosphere is becoming established in the republic, as it is all over the country. It is defined by the active participation of working people in the transformations which have begun and by everyone's growing responsibility for his contribution to the restructuring process and to the struggle for peace and the security of peoples. Communists and working people in the Ukraine ardently support the party's innovative domestic and foreign policy, and welcomed with a deep sense of satisfaction the results of the Soviet-U.S. summit meeting and the conclusion of a Treaty on the Elimination of Intermediate- and Shorter-Range Missiles.

In its work to fulfill the decisions of the 27th congress, the republican party organization receives constant assistance from the CPSU Central Committee Politburo and Secretariat. Guided by the directives of the CPSU Central Committee, and on the basis of a critical analysis of the state of affairs, the Central Committee Politburo of the Ukrainian Communist Party has developed and is implementing concrete measures to restructure all spheres of social life.

The plenum notes that the restructuring process in the republic is deepening and is gathering strength and dynamism. Important qualitative changes are taking place in the working style and methods of party, soviet, and economic organs; the role played by the electoral aktiv is increasing; and glasnost, criticism, self-criticism, and democratic principles in the selection and deployment of cadres are all being expanded. The work of soviets of people's deputies, of trade union and Komsomol organs, and of social organizations is being improved.

Ideological work is being tied more closely to life and to people's interests. The activity of the mass information media has become keener and more effective. More attention is now being paid to the implementation of the Leninist nationality policy and to the patriotic and internationalist education of the population. The republic's intelligentsia is actively participating in the restructuring process.

The work to implement the radical economic reform is intensifying. A general scheme for the management of the national economy by the republic, oblasts, and rayons is being developed. The administrative apparatus is being reduced and made less expensive. The efforts of party and economic organs are aimed primarily at ensuring steady work by enterprises and organizations under the new conditions of economic management. Measures are being implemented to further increase the effectiveness of social production, to accelerate scientific-technological progress, to deepen special-purpose program management methods, and to create interbranch scientific technical complexes, engineering centers, and operational bases.

Positive changes have taken shape in the development and intensification of the economy. The principle plan tasks of the first 2 years of the 5-year plan period have been fulfilled, including those for the growth of production volumes and labor productivity in industry. Virtually the entire increase in requirements for rolled metal, cement, and timber has been provided by economizing, as has one third of all electric and heat energy. The proportion of secondary raw materials in the total volume of resource consumption has reached 12.5%. The average annual gross output of agriculture has increased. Growth has been ensured and the plans for the first 2 years of the 5-year plan period have been fulfilled for sales of potatoes, vegetables, meat, milk, eggs, and wool to the state.

Increased attention is being paid to the development of the social sphere. Housing commissioning plans have been overfulfilled, and the targets for the construction of schools, hospitals, preschool children's institutions, stores, and workers canteens are being fulfilled. The provision of food and durable consumer goods for the population has somewhat improved.

At the same time, the plenum considers that the restructuring course in the economic, sociopolitical, and other spheres of the republic's life does not yet fully meet the demands of the 27th party congress and subsequent CPSU Central Committee plenums. The Central Committee Politburo has not yet been able to cover the full volume of issues concerning democratization, economic reform, and the development of the social sphere, or to develop and implement measures which would ensure that qualitatively new tasks were carried out.

The plans for sales of industrial output, including deliveries made according to contract or order and the assimilation of state capital investments, are not being fulfilled. To a considerable extent this can be explained by the fact that not all party obkoms, gorkoms, and raykoms, and not many primary party organizations, have grasped the importance and complexity of the current moment, and that they have not become fully involved in the practical work to carry out fundamental transformations in the economic, social, and spiritual spheres. For the moment there have been no real shifts for the better in the work of Zaporozhye, Kirovograd, Nikolayev, and Odessa party obkoms. A number of party gorkoms and raykoms are not ensuring that tasks are accomplished at the level of contemporary demands. Restructuring of the inner party life of primary party organizations is taking place particularly slowly. They are still not assuming full responsibility for ensuring the restructuring process, and they reconcile themselves with the fact that many members of the party are still not in its vanguard. The selection of new additions to the party needs to be considerably improved.

The new democratic mechanism in the economy, the political sphere, and the life of party organizations is being developed at unsatisfactory rates. A considerable number of workers have become unaccustomed to thinking and acting independently, have not overcome the habit of waiting for instructions from above on any matter, and react painfully to criticism. Formalism and the bureaucratic approach to work are being eradicated from social life in only a feeble manner. The active involvement of working people in developing decisions and verifying their implementation has not yet become the norm everywhere.

Insufficiently active use is made of cadre potential. Cadre changes which are ripe frequently take place slowly due to the lack of trained reserves. Not all party committees conduct cadre work in a systematic, broad, and open manner, or actively promote capable young functionaries, women, and non-party people. A number of sectors are still headed by leaders who are incapable of accomplishing the new tasks.

Shortcomings in the activity of soviets of people's deputies to carry out economic and social tasks and to verify the fulfillment of electors' instructions are being eliminated slowly and far from everywhere. Crimean, Lvov, Transcarpathian, and Odessa Oblast ispolkoms have not achieved tangible changes in restructuring their work. Local soviets need more concrete assistance from the Presidium of the Supreme Soviet of the Ukrainian SSR.

The Trade Unions Council of the Ukrainian SSR and the local trade union organs are restructuring poorly; they do not display the necessary initiative and persistence in carrying out tasks connected with the transition of enterprises and organizations to full economic accountability and self-financing, in organizing socialist competition in a new way, and in improving the conditions of work, everyday life, and leisure of working people.

The restructuring of some party committees' work with young people lacks the proper depth and purpose. Changes in the working style and methods of the Ukrainian Komsomol Central Committee and many Komsomol committees have affected more the surface than the substance of matters.

There are many shortcomings in the activity of the law and order organs. Crime and antisocial behavior are being eradicated only slowly. The struggle against parasitism, drunkenness, illicit distilling, and drug addiction is being poorly conducted in a number of oblasts. There are still cases of civil rights and socialist justice being violated.

Ideological work is lagging behind the processes taking place in life. Some ideological workers have proven incapable of rapidly assimilating the new approaches and of putting into practice the theoretical and political directives which the party developed after the April CPSU Central Committee plenum. Many newspapers, including republican ones, and television and radio editorial boards lack the ability to cover the restructuring processes and accumulated experience in an in-depth and effective manner, to give a timely and politically correct reaction to the growing diversity of people's opinions, and to develop a useful dialogue.

The proper positive changes are not taking place in the implementation of the reform of general educational, higher, and secondary vocational schools.

Sociological science does not always provide a timely response to the requirements of practice. Ukrainian cinema, drama, and theater are lagging behind the requirements of the day and people's spiritual needs. The grave shortcomings in variety concert activity have not been eliminated.

The Central Committee Politburo does not always display the proper exactingness toward, or make the proper demands on, leaders of the Council of Ministers, of the State Planning Committee, of ministries and departments, and of oblast ispolkoms for the uninterrupted functioning of all sectors of the national economic complex. Negative trends in the machine building, ferrous metallurgy, and chemical industries, in capital construction, and in transport have not been finally overcome. It is not proving possible to ensure a radical increase in the effectiveness of scientific-technological progress.

A fundamental turn in the development of the agro-industrial sector has not been achieved. The plans for 2 years of gross output and for the production of most agricultural crops have not been fulfilled. The population's demand for meat and milk products is not being fully satisfied. There are serious shortcomings in the work of the Ukrainian SSR Gosagroprom and its local organs.

Full use is not being made of the existing potential for increasing housing construction, for eliminating the substantial shortcomings in trade, everyday, medical, and transport services for the population, and for strengthening the material and technical basis of the social sphere. Many soviet and economic organs are not displaying the proper activeness in developing cooperatives and individual labor activity. A number of regions are not fulfilling the planned measures for environmental protection.

The plenum stresses the fact that not all republican organs, obkoms, gorkoms, and raykoms of the party, local soviet ispolkoms, and primary party organizations are restructuring with the proper activeness, or taking timely measures to carry out urgent tasks and eliminate shortcomings. Working style and methods are being improved only slowly. There is still a great tendency to use paperwork and directives in leadership methods.

II [Roman two]

The plenum obliges the Central Committee Politburo, party obkoms, gorkoms, and raykoms to make the maximum use of existing potential for expanding socialist democracy and for establishing new approaches in the work of party and state organs and social organizations; and to ensure that self-government of the people is deepened and that the initiative and activeness of Communists and all working people are developed.

To this end it is necessary:

—to intensify organizational work to implement the decisions of the 27th party congress, the January and June (1987) CPSU Central Committee Plenums, the 27th Congress of the Ukrainian Communist Party, as well as party and government resolutions;

—to systematically analyze the activity of party obkoms, gorkoms, and raykoms, and to help them to operate in a resolute, energetic, and competent manner in order to bring the restructuring process up to full speed. Particular attention must be paid to those party committees which are slow in overcoming political and organization slackness and the old models and methods. Candidate and full members of the Central Committee Politburo, candidate and full members of the Central Committee, and members of the Auditing Commission of the Ukrainian Communist Party must pay greater attention to deepening the restructuring process at a local level;

—to ensure that there is a substantial improvement in the leadership exercised over primary party committees by party obkoms, gorkoms, and raykoms. Party organizations must have greater responsibility for the quality of additions to the party, for improvements in the deployment of Communists, for the intensification of their personal responsibility for the state of affairs in labor collectives, and for the creation of an atmosphere of intensive, creative work which brings real, tangible returns. The question of improving party gorkoms' and raykoms' leadership of primary party organization in the implementation of the restructuring process must be examined at one of the plenums of the Central Committee of the Ukrainian Communist Party;

—to restructure the practice of conducting plenums, bureau sessions, and party meetings; to eradicate stage management of them; to create an atmosphere at them of party principle and camaraderie, truth and openness, and criticism and self-criticism; to decisively cut short attempts to embellish reality or to conceal shortcomings and omissions.

Concrete practical steps must be taken to increase the role of members of elective organs in resolving all questions of party organizations' life, in fulfilling decisions which are made, and in establishing broad glasnost and genuine collectivity in work;

—to strive to make soviets of people's deputies become more actively involved in the restructuring process, and to increase their responsibility for the comprehensive development of the economy and the socioeconomic sphere at sub-departmental level, for the satisfaction of working people's everyday needs, and for the fulfillment of the electors' instructions. The activeness of deputies in exercising their powers must be developed, and the population must be more widely informed about the decisions made by soviet organs and the course of their fulfillment. A practice must be made of putting forward major issues in the life of the republic, oblasts, towns, and rayons for wide-scale discussion by working people;

—to intensify exactingness toward Communists working in the Trade Unions Council of the Ukrainian SSR and in trade union organs for the solution of tasks arising from the USSR Law on State Enterprises (Associations) and connected with the transfer of enterprises and organizations to a multi-shift system of work, with the introduction of new conditions of labor remuneration, with the organization of effective socialist competition in accordance with the new requirements, and with the intensification of the social orientation of economic decisions. The needs and interests of working people, the creation of the conditions necessary for their work and labor, and the strict observance of the principle of social justice must all remain at the center of trade union organizations' activity;

—to increase party organizations' responsibility for improving the ideological, political, labor, and moral education of young people, and for perfecting the Komsomol's forms and methods of work. Young people must be actively involved in the restructuring and modernization of production, in the assimilation of new economic methods and technologies, and in the development of science and culture. Useful initiatives in the Komsomol's activity must be supported, young people's initiative and independence must be developed, and responsibility and confidence in concrete work must be instilled in them;

—to instruct the Council of Ministers of the Ukrainian SSR, the Trade Unions Council, and the Komsomol Central Committee of the Ukraine to develop, in conjunction with interested organizations, a republican program for the improvement of young people's education;

—to intensify party committees' control over the work done to form labor collective councils in accordance with the USSR Law on State Enterprises (Associations). Wide-scale use of democratic and competitive principles must be ensured in holding elections for the leaders of enterprises and their structural subunits. On the basis of comprehensive development of socialist self-management, working people must be instilled with a sense of proprietorship in production, and there must be consolidation of organization and discipline, personal involvement, and responsibility for a healthy moral and psychological atmosphere in one's labor collective and for the achievement of high final results in work;

—to promote the activation of the work of new social organizations—councils of war and labor veterans, the Cultural Fund, women's councils, the V.I. Lenin Children's Fund, and other autonomous associations of working people. Wider use must be made of their potential for developing public initiative and people's social responsibility.

III [Roman three]

The plenum considers it necessary to increase the exactingness displayed by the Central Committee Politburo and Secretariat of the Ukrainian Communist Party toward all party committees and the leaders of the republic's soviet, economic, and trade union organs for the consistent implementation of the decisions of the June (1987) CPSU Central Committee plenum on the radical economic reform. There must be intensified party influence over the acceleration of the republic's socioeconomic development, the increasing of social production's efficiency, and the ensuring of steady work by collectives under the new conditions of economic management. The processes taking place in the national economy must be analyzed in greater depth, the necessary resources must be concentrated in the priority areas of economic development, and potential breakdowns in individual sectors must be averted.

Particular attention must be paid to the further acceleration of scientific-technological progress, to the deepening of special-purpose program methods of planning, to the development of progressive forms of strengthening the ties between science and production, and to the acceleration of the rates of modernizing and technically re-equipping enterprises and of renewing basic production funds. No less than 2/3 of the growth in labor productivity must be provided through an increase in the technical level of production, and the labor of 2.1 million people must be saved by the end of the 5-year plan period. The economic results from the implementation of republican special-purpose scientific-technological programs must reach no less than R1.2 billion per annum.

The work carried out by ministries and departments, state production associations, soviets of people's deputies, scientists and specialists, and all labor collectives to intensify the economizing regime and to draw secondary raw materials and industrial waste more fully into economic circulation must be activated.

The Central Committee plenum sets the task of reaching in the current year the level of resource-saving planned for the end of the 5-year plan period by the resolution of the Ukrainian Communist Party Central Committee and the Ukrainian SSR Council of Ministers. By this means, the material-intensiveness of industrial production must be reduced by at least 2% as compared with the achieved level of 1987.

The Ukrainian SSR Council of Ministers must ensure a decisive change in the work done by ministries, departments, and oblast ispolkoms to fundamentally improve the quality of products and to increase their technical standard, reliability, and competitiveness. The relative proportion of products in the highest quality category must be increased to 20.7% of the total production volume in 1988, and to 25% in 1990.

It is necessary to carry out practical measures to sharply accelerate the development of the internal base of construction organizations and the production of construction materials, including on the basis of pooling [kooperirovaniye] the resources of construction enterprises and of the local budget. The volume of construction using an organization's own resources must be considerably increased. It is necessary to ensure that construction organizations engaged in building housing and social, cultural, and consumer facilities specialize and to substantially improve the the quality of construction.

The Central Committee Politburo and Ukrainian SSR Council of Ministers must ensure the implementation of the general layout of management of the national economy of the republic, oblasts, cities, and rayons and the amalgamation or abolition of certain ministries and departments, the creation of new-type interbranch associations, and a sharp reduction in the cost of the managerial apparatus. It is necessary to increase exactingness toward ministries, departmental leaders, and oblispolkom chairmen for the comprehensive accomplishment of tasks of the socioeconomic development of sectors and regions, and for a rapid reorientation of all leadership components toward economic methods of management.

The republic's Council of Ministers must strengthen supervision over the shift to new conditions of economic management by sectors, associations, enterprises and organizations, and kolkhozes and sovkhozes. It is necessary to take specific measures to reduce the number of loss-making and low-profit production units, and to give labor collectives practical assistance in improving their financial situation.

The leaders of ministries and departments, associations and enterprises, and party and trade union organizations are obliged to ensure the broad introduction of the collective contract and new forms of labor remuneration that the specific requirements of internal economic accountability [khozraschet] be conveyed to each worker, a strict observance of the provisions of the USSR Law on the State Enterprise (Association), and not to permit a restriction of their rights and to restructure the economic training of working people in accordance with the radical reform of the economic mechanism.

It is necessary for primary party organizations to actively involve labor collectives in the entire work of carrying out economic reform and in the quest for internal reserves. A sense of initiative, independence, and responsibility for end results must be fostered in all working people, and primarily economic cadres.

Attaching extreme importance to the successful fulfillment of 1988 plan targets, the Central Committee plenum obliges party, soviet, economic, trade union, and Komsomol organs to widely develop organizational, mass-political, engineering and economic work to ensure the smooth functioning of all sectors of the national economy and of every association, enterprise, kolkhoz and sovkhoz. Efforts must be focused on the maximum utilization of production capacities, primarily via a shift to a multishift work schedule, and material, labor, and financial resources, and on strengthening state, labor, and industrial discipline, order and good organization in production units. It is necessary to pay particular attention to the fulfillment of output delivery plans according to contracts and orders and to make up for the lag permitted in a number of sectors in the first 2 years of the 5-year plan.

Exhaustive measures must be taken to reinforce and augment the positive results achieved last year in the development of the agro-industrial complex and the accelerated fulfillment of tasks of the Food Program through an all-out increase in agricultural production in kolkhozes, sovkhozes, and the subsidiary farms of industrial enterprises and of the population, the assimilation of individual, family, and other contacts, the development of collective orchard and truck farming, and the retooling of the processing industry and storage bases.

The problem of the self-sufficiency of food products in each oblast must be persistently tackled. By 1988 it is necessary to bring the production of grain to 51 million tonnes, of sugar beet to 53 million tonnes, of sunflower seeds to 2.7 million tonnes, of vegetables to 8.1 million tones, of meat—in slaughtered weight—to 4.2 million tonnes, and of milk to 24.1 million tonnes.

IV [Roman four]

The Ukrainian Communist Party Central Committee Plenum considers it fundamentally important to increase the impact of the Central Committee Politburo, Secretariat, all party committees and primary party organizations in accelerating the accomplishment of vitally important social tasks, such as the enhancement of people's well-being, improvement of their standard of living and of daily life, an increase in the scale of housing construction, food production, and the output of consumer goods, and the development of the services sphere.

In the first quarter of 1988, the Ukrainian SSR Council of Ministers, ministries and departments, and oblispolkoms must complete and approve, for the republic and for each oblast, a thoroughly considered—in terms of volume and time frame—program for providing every family with a separate apartment or individual house by the year 2000. It is necessary to envisage in the programs the accelerated development of the material-technical base of construction, the stepped-up growth of production of necessary construction materials and of household products and items, to more broadly develop housing construction using internal resources and to enhance its quality, and to more actively enlist the resources of enterprises, organizations, and the population for these purposes. Fulfillment of the Comprehensive Program of the social reorganization of the republic's rural areas must be ensured.

It is necessary to carry out additional measures to substantially increase production, improve the quality and expand the variety of consumer goods, and to further develop paid services for the population. The production of consumer goods at a level envisaged by the Comprehensive Program for 1988 must be considered a very important task of the republic's ministries, departments, party committees, and soviet and economic organs, while in paid services, the level planned for the end of the 5-year plan must be reached. For this purpose it is necessary to enhance incentives for enterprises, associations, and regions to increase production of consumer goods, to strengthen business ties between industry and trade, and to resolutely improve the organization of trade services for the population and of public catering.

It is necessary to ensure a timely and complete fulfillment of the resolutions of the CPSU Central Committee and USSR Council of Ministers, "Basic Guidelines for the Development of the Health Preservation of the Population and the Restructuring of USSR Health Services in the 12th 5-Year Plan and Through the Year 2000," the stepped-up construction of children's and maternity institutions, the accelerated development of networks of homes for the aged and for invalids, and the improvement of services for disabled citizens living alone.

V [Roman five]

The Ukrainian Communist Party Central Committee Politburo and Secretariat and all party committees must intensify the work to update the substance, forms, and methods of ideological activity on the basis of a consistent implementation of the directives of the 27th CPSU Congress and of people's interests and requirements. It is necessary to subordinate restructuring here to people's psychology and thinking and to the invigoration of the human factor in accomplishing socioeconomic tasks.

It is necessary to make more effective use of all methods of ideological impact to clarify the meaning and goals of the party's present political course, to firmly establish in each labor collective a high degree of organization, mutual exactingness, and an atmosphere of broad democracy and glasnost, and to cultivate in people a high political culture and the ability to counter any antisocial phenomena.

The efforts of social scientists must be steered toward resolutely overcoming outdated approaches to the study of the general laws of social development, toward the development of valid forecasts and constructive recommendations for social practice. All scientific research work, the teaching of social sciences in educational institutions, and studies within the system of political training must be linked to the processes of the restructuring and renewal of all aspects of public life, and dogmatism and pedantry in the study of Marxist-Leninist theory must be overcome. It is necessary to entrust the Ukrainian Communist Party Central Committee Politburo with examining questions associated with the elaboration of inadequately studied problems of Ukrainian Communist Party history.

It is necessary to consistently improve the patriotic and international education of the population, actively making use of the exchange of experience and of spiritual values with fraternal republics and international ties, primarily with socialist countries, for these purposes. In the implementation of the nationality policy it is important to continue a comprehensive analysis of public opinion, to carefully consider the interests of various categories of the working people, the multinational makeup of the republic, and the sociocultural needs of the national minorities living in compact communities [kompaktno prozhivayushchiye]. There must be principled action against manifestations of national narrow-mindedness and exclusiveness, and resolute countermeasures against attempts by bourgeois propaganda to weaken the friendship and cohesion of USSR peoples.

Party committees must more actively assimilate new methods of leadership of the press, television, radio, and the publishing business and help to develop glasnost, direct their work, have constant working relations with journalists, and support critical and probing [postanovochnyy] statements by the mass information media. Newspapers, television, and radio are obliged to publicize more profoundly and thoroughly the accumulated experience of restructuring. There must be a prompt and principled reaction to manifestations of conservatism, social demagoguery, and attempts to exaggerate difficulties and take advantage of glasnost. There must be systematic work to improve the quality of the the makeup of journalistic cadres, their training, and their degree of being informed, and to increase responsibility for objectivity and truthfulness of publications.

It is necessary to ensure the invigoration of the literary-artistic process in the republic and to make more effective use of literature and art in the ideological-moral education of working people. Party and ideological workers must have a good knowledge of processes taking place in cultural life, must have constant contacts with the artistic intelligentsia, and must give it support and assistance. It is necessary to strengthen the material base of culture and to create the necessary conditions so that people can spend their free time in an interesting way. Scientific-technological creativity must be developed, and mass participation in physical culture and sports must be ensured.

It is necessary to create an atmosphere of moral purity in labor collectives and in residential areas and to take additional measures to strengthen socialist legality and law and order in the republic's cities and rayons. The effectiveness of the work of law-enforcement organs in combating crime, drunkenness, moonshine manufacture, drug addition, and other antisocial manifestations, and in eliminating the causes that promote their appearance must be increased. It is necessary to refine the work of supervisory organs and to steer their efforts toward combating mismanagement, report padding, and other negative phenomena.

The plenum stresses the particular importance of work aimed at creating a unified system of continuous education. For these purposes it is necessary to consistently fulfill the Basic Guidelines for School Reform and to persistently restructure higher and secondary specialized education. The work to increase the skills and retraining of workers, kolkhoz members, and specialists in the national economy must be improved.

Party committees and primary party organizations must ensure the involvement of party committee workers, all leadership cadres, and Communists in ideological activity. In 1988 it is necessary to create a permanent exhibition, "The Experience of the Restructuring of Ideological-Educational Work Under Conditions of the Democratization of Public Life," at the Ukrainian SSR Exhibition of Achievements of the National Economy.

VI [Roman six]

The Plenum obliges the Ukrainian Communist Party Central Committee Politburo, party obkoms, gorkoms, raykoms, and soviet and economic organs to ensure a fundamental improvement of the utilization of cadre potential and the creation of an effective cadre reserve. Using the decisions of the January (1987) CPSU Central Committee Plenum as a guide, it is necessary to ensure everywhere a real shift to the development of democratic forms of work with cadres. There must be a widespread use of competitive principles, appointment by elections, certification, the open formation of reserves, and a comprehensive discussion in labor collectives of the professional, political, and ethical qualities of persons recommended for leadership posts.

It is necessary to be constantly concerned about the cultivation in cadres of a profound understanding of the requirements of the new, second stage of restructuring and of a high personal responsibility for its implementation. Conditions must be created for cadres to master political and legal culture, economic skills, and particularly questions of full economic accountability and self-financing. It is necessary to pursue a firm line of strengthening party and state discipline and increasing accountability and supervision both "from above" and "from below." Leading workers who have a disdainful attitude toward people's opinions and needs, who are coarse and practice bureaucratism and red tape, and who permit deviations from party ethics, moral norms, and Soviet laws must be resolutely removed. It is necessary to wage a resolute struggle against those who put a brake on the task of restructuring and who try to support the old ways. One must not succumb to the pressure of those who wish to ignore the objective logic of restructuring and try to do everything with one stroke.

The Ukrainian Communist Party Central Committee Secretariat must strengthen the supervision of the performance and improve the coordination of the work of Central Committee departments, to ensure that the workers of the apparatus have a good knowledge of people's lives, moods, interests, and needs, fundamentally assess the situation, organize the fulfillment of adopted decisions, spend more time in party committees, primary party organizations, and labor collectives, and give them specific assistance in the accomplishing the tasks of restructuring and in eliminating shortcomings.

The plenum obliges the Central Committee Politburo to analyze the critical remarks and proposals expressed during the discussion of this report, and also at party committee plenums, meetings in primary party organizations to discuss reports of elected organs, in press publications, and in working people's letters, and to take account of them in the practical work to lead the restructuring and to ensure the acceleration of socioeconomic development.

The plenum is confident that, in welcoming the 19th all-union party conference, all the republic's party committees and primary party organizations will expand even more the organizational and political work to mobilize Communists and all working people for active involvement in the revolutionary renewal of Soviet society and the struggle to fulfill the decisions of the 27th CPSU Congress and the targets for the 12th 5-Year Plan.

Kiev Paper Profiles Promoted Leaders

Vladimir Antonovich Ivashko

AU291523 Kiev PRAVDA UKRAINY in Russian 24 Jan 88 p 1

["Vladimir Antonovich Ivashko, Member of the Ukrainian Communist Party Central Committee Politburo"—PRAVDA UKRAINY headline]

[Text] Born in 1932, Vladimir Antonovich Ivashko is a Ukrainian, a CPSU member since 1960, and has a higher education. He graduated from the Mining Engineering Institute in Kharkov in 1956 and has the degree of Candidate of Economic Sciences.

After graduating from the institute, he was engaged as a lecturer and a scientist at higher educational establishments in Kharkov, and was also elected as party committee secretary at a higher school. From 1973 to 1978 he was chief of the Science and Educational Institutions Department under Kharkov Obkom. In 1978 he was elected as Kharkov Obkom secretary, and in 1986, as Ukrainian Communist Party Central Committee Politburo candidate member and secretary.

Since 1987, he has been Dnepropetrovsk Obkom first secretary.

He is a candidate member of the CPSU Central Committee, and a deputy to the USSR Supreme Soviet.

Konstantin Ivanovich Masik

AU291529 Kiev PRAVDA UKRAINY in Russian 24 Jan 88 p 1

["Konstantin Ivanovich Masik, Candidate Member of the Ukrainian Communist Party Central Committee Politburo"—PRAVDA UKRAINY headline]

[Text] Born in 1936, Konstantin Ivanovich Masik is a Ukrainian and has been a CPSU member since 1962. He has a higher education: he graduated from the Water Transport Engineering Institute in Gorkiy, and the Higher Party School under the CPSU Central Committee.

He was working as engineer-designer at the ship building and repairing plant in Kiev, and then held a job in the Komsomol. From 1972 to 1974 he was Darnitskiy Raykom first secretary in Kiev and an inspector in the Ukrainian Communist Party Central Committee. Since 1976, he was Odessa Obkom secretary and then second secretary. For 5 years he was a deputy chairman of the Ukrainian Council of Ministers, and in 1986-87, an inspector in the CPSU Central Committee.

In April 1987, he was elected as Kiev Obkom first secretary.

He is a member of the Ukrainian Communist Party Central Committee and a deputy to the Ukrainian Supreme Soviet.

Ukrainian CP Auditing Commission Holds Session

AU291532 Kiev PRAVDA UKRAINY in Russian 24 Jan 88 p 1

[Unattributed report: "In the Ukrainian Communist Party Auditing Commission"]

[Text] A session of the Ukrainian Communist Party Auditing Commission was held on 23 January. Problems concerning methodical assistance to obkom and gorkom auditing commissions were examined, and the 1988 work plan was approved.

Ukrainian Obkom Head on Counterpropaganda Work

PM281509 Moscow SOTSIALISTICHESKAYA INDUSTRIYA in Russian 22 Jan 88 p 2

[Article by N. Nivalov, first secretary of the Chernovtsy Ukrainian Communist Party Obkom, under rubric "Party Committee: Search for New Approaches": "On the Offensive, Not the Defensive"]

[Text] The story goes that recently a foreign guest in Bukovina asked to be driven straight from the railroad station to... Amerika. The cab driver did not seem particularly surprised:

"To Amerika, you say? You're a bit late for that, it isn't there any more!"

There was once a small village of this name not far from the village of Staraya Zhadova, in the Carpathian foothills. It was founded in the thirties by people who had managed to return home after ordeals abroad, buy a plot of land there, and build their own small house.

Amerika ceased to exist last year. The last person to leave—Aleksandr Yakunovich, a tractor driver at the "Bolshevik" Kolkhoz—celebrated moving into his new home in Staraya Zhadova, a beautiful new village.

Before 1940, when Bukovina was reunited with its mother country, some 150,000 adults fled from here in the search for work and a crust of bread in foreign parts.

Thousands left, but only tens returned. But even those who have put down roots in another country remember their Bukovina and tell their children and grandchildren about it. Many are still in touch with relatives. Tens of thousands of foreign tourists visit the oblast every year. People here receive letters and parcels from all over the world. By no means all Bukovina emigrants live in poverty. Some are capitalists, and others are not so rich but not averse to showing off.

I am not even talking about the streams of lies with which the people of Bukovina are inundated by Voice of America, Deutsche Welle, Radio Liberty, Radio Israel, Radio Vatican, and other propaganda centers.

This does, of course, make special demands on our counterpropaganda work. I would like to talk to you about our particular concerns.

Possession of information: This is one of the cornerstones of counterpropaganda. The smaller and more superficial the knowledge a person has about a subject or phenomenon dealt with by an information source hostile to us, the more it will disturb him. This means that we must arm people with comprehensive, truthful information on our life and show our guests how we live.

Guests from Canada—Yelena and Anton Vivcharuk—came to visit their relatives in the small town of Kitsman. Yelena did not recognize the village, of course, as she left with her mother while still a child.

"It is hard to believe that there used to only be tumbledown huts here with the sky for a roof, as they say," Yelena said in amazement. "How beautiful it is now! What nice houses, gardens, and apartments you have... And inside the apartments, goodness me! You live better than we do. We have been told all sorts of things about this place back home... Now we will tell them what it is really like."

Last year the oblast newspaper RADYANSKA BUKOVINA published a series of Canadian travel notes by the Bukovina writer Bogdan Melnichuk. In one of the essays, entitled "What They Write About Us," he analyzed newspaper publications in which Canadian Ukrainians talked about a visit to their native country and the high level of culture and full lives of Soviet people.

But is it not true that we make a better job of convincing foreign tourists of our achievements than our own citizens? When visiting enterprises and organizations, I call in at the counterpropaganda offices and the "Orientir" information and discussion clubs. The same figures, diagrams, and brochures... And does this material always "strike home"? No, not always, because it has to be skilfully presented.

"Gaps" in people's knowledge cost us dear. Our mass media, which often lag behind events, deserve serious criticism. They should really be in front! Nonstaff counterpropaganda departments were recently formed at the oblast newspaper offices and the oblast television and radio broadcasting committee, and journalists were assigned to special areas. But there is still little initiative, curiosity, or desire to assume responsibility. Here is an example. Someone called Nikolay Lupan has been slandering Bukovina for a long time through Radio Free Europe. As I recently discovered, material exposing this provocateur and traitor to his country has been lying for more than a month in the editorial office of the oblast newspaper ZORILE BUKOVINEY (published in Moldavian), awaiting publication. It cannot be published yet because... they are awaiting instructions. And restructuring is into its 3d year.

Assertiveness: Getting one step ahead of the enemy in his ideological attacks is one of the most important conditions of successful counterpropaganda. Ideological workers know this by heart but in practice... Time and again I follow television linkups, press conferences, and interviews with various foreign figures and catch myself thinking: It has happened again! We are completely on the defensive again! We should be taking the offensive, we have every reason to do so.

Last year some students and lecturers from Saskatchewan University (Canada) came to our university for a practical course. We were on very friendly terms with them. Then it turned out that some of the Canadians had been ideologically indoctrinating our citizens. Again we were forced to go on the defensive.

But surely we could have foreseen these attacks and taken appropriate action to prevent them? It should be pointed out that this kind of prediction has yet to become everyday practice in party and social organizations.

Party committees' main concern is for lecturers and propaganda workers.

A specialist came to see me once on his return from a foreign assignment. Talking about life there, with all the precision of an engineer he gave me a very objective picture of the glitter and poverty of the capitalist "paradise," to use a figurative expression. He was a natural propagandist! I suggested that he give a talk for his collective and tell everything how it was—about the computers and the human suffering.

This has now become the rule: After going on a trip abroad, as well as compiling the mandatory technical reports, specialists also tell their work colleagues about their personal, everyday impressions.

Systematic approach: Some time ago an alarming situation took shape in the small collectives of the "Chernovtsygaz" Association. Gossip about subjects raised by foreign "voices" and the retelling of malevolent passages from illegally supplied publications began to imperceptibly corrode people's souls. The amount of emigration to Israel and other capitalist countries began to increase.

People started looking for the reasons. It became clear that not only ideological work had been neglected here but also people's working and living conditions, and their cultural needs were not being met. Work with people lacked system. So they improved the production base, provided equipment for subsidiary buildings, built the premises for an assembly hall, a canteen, and a chess club, and tackled the housing problem. They reorganized propaganda work, making it more varied, relevant, and intelligible. They began to prepare monthly guidelines on topical issues for agitators and propaganda workers and held regular seminars and instruction sessions. The collective was addressed by Yu. Kolesnikov, deputy chairman of the anti-Zionist Committee of the Soviet Public, Professor G. Valoobrega from Bologna University (Italy), and social science lecturers from our own VUZ's, as well as various other lecturers. The situation gradually improved and people began themselves to rebuff any attempts to blacken Soviet reality.

We used to think that we were systematic and that all it needed was a little more consistency and persistency when putting plans into practice. This standpoint was taken, for example, when analyzing counterpropaganda work in Glybokskiy Rayon, where possibly the most serious religious situation had developed. They carried out checks, brought matters to light, and gave instructions. People in the rayon readily responded, coming up with a mass of measures, actions, and plans. When the matter came up again recently in the Obkom Bureau they realized that the effect of all this had been insignificant. A range of measures is no guarantee of success, because there is no connection between the different areas of work.

The Russian Orthodox church is making active, extensive preparations to celebrate its millennium. And what are we doing about it? All we have done is publish a few articles in the central press... Then we will suddenly collect our wits and begin to hastily put together largely random measures.

A pointed, self-critical discussion about these problems and ways to improve this kind of work was held at the party obkom plenum which examined the Obkom Bureau's report on leadership of restructuring. Now all our attention must be devoted to practical action.

Officials Express 'Sharp Criticism' in Udmurt

PM271529 Moscow EKONOMICHESKAYA GAZETA in Russian No 3, Jan 88, (signed to press 14 Jan 88) p 4

[Own correspondent Yu. Shatalov report under the rubric "Party Organizations and Restructuring. Notes From Party Obkom Plenums": "Izhevsk: Lessons in Glasnost"]

[Text] The report by Party Obkom First Secretary P. Grishchenko and the speeches by plenum participants contained sharp criticism of party officials who have failed to properly lead restructuring and to ensure the acceleration of the republic's social and economic development.

The plan for contractual deliveries of output was not fulfilled by 42 enterprises and associations in the republic. At the same time, 33 labor collectives failed to cope with their labor productivity growth targets, and 31 enterprises failed to reach the plan targets for industrial production.

Why is this happening? Primarily, the speakers said, because party influence on the economic activity of enterprises and associations is still insufficiently effective and local party committees fail to grasp the essence of pressing problems and supplant economic cadres.

What prevents the enhancement of the efficiency of party work and the mastery of new methods of economic leadership?

"Some Obkom Bureau members and apparatus officials have not yet abandoned the administrative pressure style," A. Kursov, second secretary of the Izhevsk CPSU Gorkom, said in his speech. "Obkom Secretary Yu. Makarov has not managed to correctly organize the work of the Machine Building and the Industry and Transportation Departments. Work behind closed office doors, collection of all sorts of data by telephone, inadequate knowledge of the actual state of affairs in the sectors for which he is responsible—the result of all this is that the republic's industry was insufficiently prepared for work in conditions of full economic accountability [khozraschet] and self-financing."

Even though Obkom Second Secretary L. Bulgakov was only relatively recently put in charge of a complex sector like the construction industry, no allowances for this "mitigating circumstance" were made by N. Mitrofanova, party Obkom Bureau member and instructor at the Housing Construction Administration, M. Kozlov, Glazov CPSU Gorkom first secretary, K. Alalykin, Yakshur-Bodinskiy CPSU Raykom first secretary, and others. They made a series of critical remarks about L. Bulgakov and the bureau. This is understandable: There are too many choke points in the construction industry and they are being eliminated only very slowly.

Particular alarm is caused by the state of housing construction. In the city of Izhevsk, for example, there are 72,000 families listed as needing to improve their housing conditions. This figure represents 40% of the Udmurt capital's population. To ensure separate well-appointed apartments for all by the year 2000, it is necessary to commission 6.4 million square meters of housing by that time—an amount equal to the city's present stock of well appointed housing.

Rural housing construction is slow in gathering pace. In the last 2 years alone there was a shortfall of 34,000 square meters in the area of housing handed over by agro-industrial complex enterprises.

The speakers made an exacting and principled assessment of the work of Obkom Secretary Yu. Zaynakov, who is responsible for the republic's agro-industrial complex and is hindered by those very same administrative methods in the sector's economic leadership.

"Quite often it is no more than a statistical report on output or on progress in some agricultural campaign that determines the Obkom Bureau's attitude toward labor collectives and individual local party officials," K. Alalykin, Yakshur-Bodinskiy CPSU Raykom first secretary, shared his observations. "As a rule, obkom apparatus officials are only too keen to find out whether we are familiar with the state of affairs on farms. If our reply does not agree with the statistical report, they draw just one conclusion: 'You are not familiar with the situation.' Does this mean Obkom Bureau members become familiar with the situation as soon as they receive the statistical report?"

Bureau members, and primarily Obkom Secretary Yu. Zaynakov, cannot concentrate on solving key questions of the rural economy when they replace actual work by the collection and study of all sorts of statistical information, data, and reports.

The critical orientation of the plenum and the absence of any attempts to gloss over controversial issues or play down shortcomings in the activity of the Obkom Bureau to lead restructuring—all this indicated affirmation of the Leninist principles of party democracy, lofty exactingness, and expansion of glasnost.

V.I. Vorotnikov, CPSU Central Committee Politburo member and RSFSR Council of Ministers chairman, took part in the work of the Udmurt CPSU Obkom Plenum and delivered a speech.

Prosecution Official Provides Crime Data

PM291301 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 27 Jan 88 Second Edition p 6

[G. Ovcharenko report under the rubric "At the USSR Prosecutor's Office": "Themis Has No Secrets"]

[Text] Glasnost is gathering momentum, the process of democratization of society is gaining in depth. Even yesterday it was still difficult to gain access to many ministries and departments. Today the situation is different. The news conference held yesterday at the USSR Prosecutor's Office at which a frank analysis was made of the state of socialist legality in the country and of the work of law enforcement organs bears this out....

The country's crime rate is still very high, A. Katusev, USSR deputy prosecutor general, admitted frankly. The incidence and nature of crimes is still determined by negative phenomena such as alcohol and drug abuse, parasitism, recidivism, and greed. During the first 9 months of the past year the number of premeditated murders increased in the Ukrainian, Kazakh, Latvian, Armenian, Tajik, and Kirghiz SSR's and in a number of RSFSR oblasts. The damage caused through embezzlement of state and public property during the first 6 months of 1987 alone totaled R122 million. In most union republics thefts of private property and motor vehicles and juvenile crimes increased. The number of crimes committed by groups of people has doubled in recent years. Bribery is still widespread. In the first half of 1987 more than 5,000 crimes of this kind were exposed.

This does not mean, of course, the law enforcement organs, and the prosecutor's office in particular, are idle. A number of crimes presenting a special danger to society and the state have recently been exposed.

For instance, the Azerbaijan SSR Prosecutor's Office completed an investigation of a case concerning embezzlement on a very large scale at the Baku factory of the "Promgalantereya" Association. A criminal group which operated there embezzled around R10 million. In Moscow a criminal case was concluded dealing with bribe taking on the part of a number of USSR Ministry of Health institution officials. In Kiev Oblast a certain Andreychenko who had committed more that 150 crimes was arrested. USSR Prosecutor's Office investigators have completed work on the indictment for bribery of Karavayev, Kazakh SSR minister of motor transport, and others who obtained more than R1.5 million illegally, and court proceedings have been instituted against a certain Mikhasevich, accused of murdering 33 women in Vitebsk Oblast. The investigation has been completed in the case of Churbanov, former USSR first deputy minister of internal affairs, who is accused of accepting bribes to the value of more than R650,000 and of abuse of official position.

However, A. Katusev stressed, the work of the prosecutor's office organs leaves something to be desired. There are many mistakes in investigation work due to the low professional standards and even unscrupulousness of investigators; Prosecutor's Office supervision is still not effective enough; certain prosecutors are failing to restructure their work and are reacting neegatively to criticism. Therefore the USSR Prosecutor's Office will be grateful to news media staff for help in eradicating the aforementioned shortcomings.

A. Katusev and other senior officials of the USSR Prosecutor's Office then replied to journalists' questions. Naturally, not all of their replies fully satisfied the representatives of the press, radio, and television but on the whole the most important aspects of the reinforcement of socialist legality were examined at the news conference and—most important—the discussion itself passed in an atmosphere of mutual respect and understanding.

We would like such news conferences to become a tradition not only at the USSR Prosecutor's Office, but also at the country's Supreme Court, and the USSR Ministry of Justice. Such meetings should be a great help in the work of journalists and law enforcement organ personnel and have a beneficial effect on the strengthening of socialist legality.

Former Prime Minister Malenkov Dies

LD011221 Moscow World Service in English 1200 GMT 1 Feb 88

[Text] The death and burial in Moscow of the former Soviet Prime Minister Georgiy Malenkov has just been announced here. Georgiy Malenkov headed the Soviet Government in 1953,'54, and'55.

Scientific

'Meteor-2' Weather Satellite Launched 30 Jan

LD010822 Moscow TASS in English 0816 GMT 1 Feb 88

[Text] Moscow February 1 TASS—A Meteor-2 weather satellite was launched in the Soviet Union on Saturday, January 30. It was put into orbit with the following parameters:

initial orbit period—104.1 minutes,

the maximum distance from the earth's surface—973 km,

the minimum distance from the earth's surface—947 km,

orbital inclination—82.5 degrees.

The satellite carries instrumentation packages to receive global images of the cloud cover and the underlying surface in the visible and infra-red bands of the spectrum both in the memorizing mode and in a direct transmission one as well as radiometric apparatus for continuous observations of fluxes of penetrating radiation in the near-earth space.

Apart from scientific instrumentation the satellite has a system securing the satellite's orientation towards the earth, a power supply system with autonomous orientation of solar-cell batteries towards the sun, a radio telemetric system to transmit back to earth the data on the operation of the service systems of the satellite, a radio system for precision measurement of orbit parameters, and a radio complex to transmit scientific data to the earth.

The onboard apparatus is functioning normally.

The command and instrumentation complex exercises control of the satellite. The data from the satellite come in to the state research centre for the study of natural resources and to the hydrometeocentre of the USSR of the State Committee for Hydrometeorology for processing and uses.

Scientists Meet To Discuss Phobos Project

LD291937 Moscow TASS in English 1900 GMT 29 Jan 88

[Text] Moscow January 29 (TASS)—Preparation for the implementation of an international multi-purpose project Phobos was discussed at a meeting of the international scientific council of the project that ended today at the Institute of Space Exploration of the USSR Academy of Sciences. The meeting was attended by scientists and specialists from Austria, Bulgaria, Hungary, Great Britain, GDR, Ireland, USSR, USA, France, Finland, FRG, Czechoslovakia, Switzerland, Sweden, as well as representatives of the European Space Agency.

Less than six months remain to go before the launching of two Soviet spacecraft of a new modification toward Mars. In mid-July 1988, two interplanetary stations will be launched one after the other, with an interval of several days, from the Baykonur Cosmodrome. The Phobos project will be implemented in 1988-1989. The programme envisages exploration of Mars, of its satellite Phobos, as well as of the Sun and interplanetary space.

It was noted at the meeting that one of the interesting aspects of the programme will be putting landing craft on Phobos. By the way, one landing probe that would be left on Phobos will be able to move over its surface. Scientific measurements will be performed and the inforamtion will be relayed by the radio canal to the orbital apparatus. In this way information on the structure of surface layers, on the chemical and mineralogical composition of Phobos will be obtained for the first time with the use of landing probes.

Romanenko, Aleksandrov on Future Plans, Health

LD312133 Moscow Television Service in Russian 1800 GMT 31 Jan 88

[From the "Vremya" newscast; unidentified correspondent's video report on interview with Cosmonauts Yuriy Romanenko and Aleksandr Aleksandrov]

[Text] The Italian newspaper REPUBBLICA and LA STAMPA have written about a drastic deterioration in the health of Cosmonaut Yuriy Romanenko. Have a look at our reportage from Kislovodsk:

[Unidentified correspondent] [video report, showing Romanko, Aleksandrov, with group of other men, women, and children walking in the snow, having a picnic by the woods; all look fit and well; Romanenko and Aleksandrov are shown doing exercises on a snowy balcony] How is the cosmonauts' rest going? They are resting together with their families. After all, their separation was a long one, and now every day spent together is so dear. They are happy to walk around the town, admiring Kislovodsk. The morning begins with keeping fit by doing a whole set of special exercises; it is a very big physical load. Then come walks in the mountains, which increase in length every day. Their mood is excellent—and their appetite, too, by the way. Real Russian sbiten [hot drink with honey and spices] is particularly good when it is really cold, especially in the company of one's near and dear ones.

At the moment, you are the only man on earth who has spent so long in space. Do you want to go back into space?

[Romanenko] Of course. It's my vocation, my beloved profession, the one that I have given my all to. It is a profession that my friends give their all to. Of course I want to go into space again.

[Unidentified correspondent] So, where is it easier, on earth or in space?

[Aleksandrov] The earthly stresses have begun. Yuriy has in mind, of course, in the first place, that we are now recuperating; we are recuperating physically here, but apart from that, there are stresses like this one at the moment.

Military

Sukhorukov on Progress in Year's Restructuring

PM291145 Moscow KRASNAYA ZVEZDA in Russian 23 Jan 88 Second Edition p 1, 2

[Interview with Army General D. Sukhorukov, USSR deputy defense minister for personnel, by Colonel G. Miranovich, editor of the KRASNAYA ZVEZDA Ground Forces Combat Training Department, under the rubric "Military Cadres: Responsibility, Competence": "At the New Stage of Restructuring"—date and place not given; first paragraph is a KRASNAYA ZVEZDA introduction]

[Text] The increased demands by the party regarding combat readiness and discipline in the Armed Forces and regarding bringing the orientation and content of their training into line with the new military doctrine presuppose, in parallel with the solution of many other problem posed by restructuring, an improvement in the work on selection, placement, and education of cadres. Colonel G. Miranovich, editor of the KRASNAYA ZVEZDA Ground Forces Combat Training Department, asked Army General D. Sukhorukov, USSR deputy defense minister for personnel, to give an account of the progress in implementing the CPSU Central Committee January (1987) Plenum resolutions in the Army and the Navy, of the unutilized reserves in work with military cadres, and of the possible ways to improve this work.

[Miranovich] Comrade Army General, it has been almost 1 year since the CPSU Central Committee January Plenum which defined the main avenues of party cadres policy in the conditions of restructuring and acceleration of the country's economic and social development. The past year brought many important historical events both in domestic and in international life. This year also left some memorable imprints on your own life. How would you assess its results from the viewpoint of USSR deputy defense minister for personnel?

[Sukhorukov] In my view, the main result is the fact that we have acquired a specific program for the restructuring of work, based on in-depth analysis of the state of affairs, and that the necessary conditions have been prepared for transition to its new stage—the stage of practical solution of tasks set by the party.

It can already be said that restructuring has affected all aspects of life in the Armed Forces. An invigorating boost has been given to combat and political training. The stagnation phenomena and stereotypes, which had built up over many years, are being demolished with increasing boldness. Furthermore, restructuring has highlighted certain new aspects of Army and Navy activity, something that is linked to the expansion of glasnost and democratic principles and, on the whole, helps to activate the human factor.

True enough, we still have not managed to fully solve all pressing questions. This work is still at an early stage, but we are accumulating practical experience all the time. Even so, certain positive aspects can be noted. Like, for example, the command and political staff's enhanced sense of responsibility for the standards of combat readiness. This is also confirmed by the results of combat and political training in the 1987 training year. Many units, ships, and combined units have produced noticeably better results than in previous years. There are certain changes for the better in discipline and in the organization of Army and Navy servicemen's daily life. More attention is now given in work with cadres to enhancing the role and importance of social and moral incentives. Nevertheless, let me repeat that this—even though promising—is only a beginning.

Turning to my personal life to which you also drew attention in your question, assuming that what you had in mind was my appointment as USSR deputy defense minister for personnel, I will make no secret of the fact that the switch to this post from the duties of commander of airborne forces demanded a serious restructuring. This is quite understandable: The responsibilities were on an even greater scale. I see it as my party and service duty to justify the trust.

[Miranovich] The previous stage involved both accumulation of experience and interpretation of life's lessons. What do they teach, in the context of the restructuring of work with cadres?

[Sukhorukov] The process of practically solving the problems posed by restructuring cannot be described as either smooth or painless. There are numerous elements applying the brakes, and it is well-known that their elimination is not always a simple and easy matter.

What causes the obstructions? Most frequently it is echoes of the times of stagnation, a lack of a sense for the new, and the unwillingness to abandon habits which have built up over the years, even though they are being rejected by life itself. There are also some officials who are altogether hoping to bide their time and are displaying excessive caution toward new methods of work wherever they have to shoulder responsibility. Such instances are not numerous, they are isolated as a rule, they lack support in the Army and Navy environment and can certainly be totally eliminated. Through the strengthening of socialist legality, the enhancement of democratism and glasnost, and the enhancement of the social activeness of servicemen at all levels. But, as people say, they won't go away by themselves....

To put it briefly, we really have plenty to interpret and to analyze critically.

The main point in practical work with cadres now is to overcome as swiftly as possible the instances of distortions and omissions which still exist. This includes primarily the instances of insufficiently effective individual work with people, the tutelage of junior officers by their seniors, the unjustified turnover of command cadres and especially at line units level, and stagnation phenomena in the service of senior and top officer staff.

High demands are made of us—meaning the cadres organs—regarding the selection, placement, and education of well-trained and energetic leadership cadres, charged with a sense for what is new, capable of critically assessing the results of their activity, and unafraid of personal responsibility when making decisions and implementing them. As the 27th party congress noted, every leader must be distinguished by ideological staunchness, high standards of political culture, competence, ability to organize collective work and inspire people by personal example, loyalty to principles, firm moral convictions, and constant need to be in contact with the masses and share people's interests and needs. These are the qualities which represent the basic criteria for assessment of cadres.

Quite a few highly skilled, energetic and demanding officers, generals, and admirals, who have proved themselves in practical work, have recently been promoted to leadership positions in the Army and the Navy. But much still has to be done to develop their initiative and independence and to give them and opportunity to establish themselves in their positions and reveal their potential. Naturally, this needs time. At the same time, in practice we often come across unjustified transfers of cadres. This is done supposedly in the interests of restructuring. But does this "cadres merry-go-round" actually conform with the spirit of the time? It only brings harm to the cause—it creates uncertainty among officers and provides a breeding ground for irresponsibility. Our immediate task is to overcome such phenomena.

[Miranovich] Judging by KRASNAYA ZVEZDA readers' letters, there are also quite a few other phenomena which can by no means be said to promote restructuring in practical work with cadres....

[Sukhorukov] We also receive such letters. We carefully investigate each specific case. Practice shows that work with cadres is still not as systematic or as purposeful as it should be in many military districts, groups of forces, and fleets. This came to light in particular during the 1986 certification of the officers corps. Some commanders and chiefs had underestimated the importance of specific work with those due for certification and had carried it out formally and hastily. There were also instances of downright blatant lack of principledness, exaggeration of some officers' qualities, and hushing up of substantial shortcomings in their professional activity and personal behavior.

Here is an example for you. Captain 2d Rank N.Artemov, senior assistant to the ship commander, was certified for promotion. But a check revealed that he abuses alcoholic beverages, and was given a positive certification only to get rid of him by transfer to a vacancy in another unit.

Similar attitudes toward certification, which also occurred in other branches of the Armed Forces, led in many instances to "cadres merry-go-round" and, of course, did not help to create a large enough or reliable enough pool of reserve candidates for promotion to higher-rank duties or for secondment to study.

Speaking of certification in general, I could not fail to emphasize the need to further improve this exceptionally important form of work with cadres. Practice proves convincingly that the basic shortcomings in the selection and placement of cadres occur primarily through insufficient knowledge of people and of their political, businesslike, and moral qualities. Surely evidence of this is provided, for example, by the fact that, in the course of officers' certification in the Air Defense Forces tactical control organs, some officers proved incapable of fully performing their duties in conditions of enhanced demandingness of combat readiness? This means that, in the certification process, there is need for more specific analysis of the results of practical activity by generals, admirals, and officers and for verification of these results in action, relying more broadly on party and Komsomol organizations and taking public opinion into account. It is self-evident that only the most enterprising, honest, energetic, and demanding officers, capable of successfully solving tasks in any conditions, must be included in the pool for promotion to higher position of for secondment to study. There is absolutely no room for leveling either here or in any other case involving the assessment of cadres or incentives for them.

To step up restructuring, it is naturally necessary for every specific link in the Army and Navy organism to expose any stagnation phenomena rooted in it and to eliminate them. In other words, what we need is a decisive demolition of the braking mechanism which developed and established itself as a result of the lack of proper demandingness, as a result of individual leaders' commitment to administrative methods, ostentation, excessive paperwork, incorrect perception of the principle of one-man command, and their inability to use it in the interests of enhancing the combat ability of units and ships and strengthening order and discipline.

Yes, this must also be discussed. The entire experience of our Armed Forces over 70 years confirms the vital need for one-man command. But that same experience also teaches us that it must be affirmed on party basis. As I have already said, this is unfortunately by no means the case everywhere.

I would like to mention in particular the phenomenon of bureaucratism. In the military environment it is as multifaceted as in other spheres of our life. But its essence is just the same—an indifferent attitude toward people, replacement of actual deeds by semblance of work, replacement of practical performance of specific duties by groundless assurances, red tape, and irresponsible promises. We don't have to look far for examples: KRASNAYA ZVEZDA readers are quite familiar with the forms of bureaucratism's manifestations from the newspaper's pages. This, by the way, is yet another sign of restructuring—there are fewer and fewer "zones closed to criticism," including in the activity of cadres organs.

[Miranovich] There are, however, other ways to eliminate bureaucratism, protectionism, and other negative phenomena which undermine officers' prestige and introduce elements of social injustice in our life. Specifically, what is your opinion on the use being made of democratic principles and glasnost for this purpose?

[Sukhorukov] You are right: There are ways. Take for example the permanent certification commissions at military units, military education establishments, and institutions. They could become a genuine instrument of restructuring, glasnost, and democratization in work with cadres. Provided, of course, that they get down to comprehensively studying people directly in the process of performance of their daily service duties, and that they display high standards of responsibility and principledness when examining questions concerning service.

We also expect active assistance from permanent commissions in ensuring social justice and legality in work with cadres. It is important for everyone involved in this responsible work to clearly realize: Only the democratization of work on the selection, placement, and education of cadres and an uncompromising struggle for the pure and honest image of Soviet officers and Communists, will make it possible to rule out parochialism, protectionism, and undeserved or wrong appointments, and to consolidate legality and fairness in the solution of cadres questions.

I emphasize this because we have to pay a rather high price for complacency, indulgence, and superficial approach in work with people. Last year, for example, a number of people including senior officers were dismissed from their posts for omissions in their leadership of subordinate units, ships, and combined units. This is only right. Position cannot be used as a shield to prevent the taking to task or punishment of those who are idle or abuse their official position, in other words those who do not live up to their calling. Such is the party's will, and it will be rigorously enforced. But someone did select these cadres in the first place. More often than not, the culprit is nowhere to be found....

Much has already been done in the Army and Navy as a whole to boost the activeness of the officers' corps and its vanguard role in ensuring high standards of combat readiness, firm military discipline, and order in conformity with regulations. Specifically, decisive measures have been taken to eradicate protectionism. Measures like, for example, restoring legality in the service of some officers who, contrary to the requirements of guideline documents, were subordinate to their closest relatives.

Fairness is being restored in other sectors of work with cadres. Take for example service rotation in different geographical regions. It is well-known that the party and the government spend large amounts of money to ensure that service conditions for officers are as equal as possible. In practice, however, this was by no means achieved always. Now we are striving to ensure that fairness triumphs here as well. Every officer, general, and admiral must spend some time serving in different geographical regions.

Furthermore, it must be borne in mind that the properly organized systematic replacement of officers in USSR localities involving a specified duration of service or with troops temporarily stationed abroad goes a long way to determine the combat readiness of units and combined units stationed there.

The affirmation of legality and the principle of social justice in all spheres of our life demands a corresponding restructuring in attitudes toward people. No matter which issue you look at—be it discharge from active military service, transfer, promotion, awards, or provision of benefits established by law—everything needs a tactful and solicitous attitude toward man.

Such an attitude is especially needed toward those who have served with the Limited Contingent of Soviet Troops in Afghanistan. First of all, it is necessary to correctly determine the position of each one of them within the combat ranks, give them an opportunity to display independence and initiative in the solution of vital problems of the personnel's training and education, and make utmost use of their accumulated combat experience in the service interests. There is also something else. It is important not to simply grant them the benefits established by the state. It is important to ensure that none of the officers and ensigns who have honorably performed their international duty encounters arrogance, indifference, or bureaucratism on his return home. I don't think it would be tactless to remind people that Great Patriotic War servicemen, Armed Forces veterans, and internationalist servicemen—especially those who have been wounded, crippled or disabled in the performance of their military duty—need specific attention by specific commanders, political organs, military commissariats, and local party and soviet organs. Here it is also necessary to ensure legality, social justice, glasnost, and democratism. Many letters, complaints, and applications to the Main Personnel Directorate and other central organs testify that this still has not been achieved everywhere.

[Miranovich] Comrade Army General, it is well-known that young people made up the bulk of our officers' corps on the eve of the Great Patriotic War. What is your attitude toward the problem of the "rejuvenation" of cadres? KRASNAYA ZVEZDA's mail indicates, for example, that matters are far from satisfactory in this respect, especially at battalion level.

[Sukhorukov] I must say that the average age of our commanders is slightly above the pre-war average, yet at some levels it is actually 1-2 years below it. In my view, we ought to be talking about something else: The sensible combination of experienced and young cadres, of ensuring the conditions necessary for the acceleration of their professional establishment.

Life convinces us that any violation of the natural process of cadres renewal, especially at senior level, leads to the emergence of cadres stagnation which is as harmful as the frequent turnover of subunit, unit, and ship commanders.

Is there a way out of this situation? It involves primarily the strict observance by commanders, chiefs, and cadres organs of the demands of the USSR Law "On Universal Military Service" regarding the prompt discharge of officers reaching the upper age limit in active military service. The necessary measures are now being taken to solve this question.

But there must be a sensible limit in everything. Of course, people possessing not only the appropriate experience and habits but also good health and excellent physical tempering must be selected for main command-political and staff duties. At the same time, while improving the age structure of military cadres, we must not forget that youth alone, when it is not backed up by practical results in labor, cannot be a ground for service promotion. The criterion for all promotions and transfers, as the 27th party congress emphasized, mist be a worker's political, businesslike, and moral qualities, his abilities, his attitude toward people, and his attitude toward restructuring.

Another choke point which hinders the "rejuvenation," as you put it, of cadres is the existence of a large number of officers with secondary specialized education at a battalion level. It is evident the decision which effectively blocks access to military academies, and consequently to service promotion, for these officers was not fully thought out at the time when it was made. This is why many of them have spent 7 or more years at their present posts and unintentionally hold back the development of young officers deserving promotion.

I must report that amendments have been introduced now to the rules governing admission to the USSR Defense Ministry's military education establishments and, according to these amendments and starting in 1988, military command academies will admit officers at battalion commander, deputy regimental commander, or equivalent rank below 35 years of age. Thus, this category of officers who have great practical experience in military service will be given an opportunity for service promotion to basic command and staff duties.

[Miranovich] Regiments are the key tactical, administrative, and economic units in the Army. It is regiments that lay the foundations of troops' combat readiness. It is there that cadres are educated, improve their professional skills, and gain their tempering. You yourself were a regimental commander in the past. What is your opinion of modern regimental commanders? Are the 2-3 years we allow them to establish themselves sufficient to enable them to acquire the necessary professional competence and independence?

[Sukhorukov] Indeed, the level of our entire Armed Forces' combat potential and their readiness to repulse aggression depend on the extent to which regiments are firmly organized and trained for combat. This explains the attention given to this category of command cadres, their personalities, and their businesslike and party qualities. It is with commanders at this level that the Main Personnel Directorate's direct work with cadres begins.

My opinion of modern regimental commanders? I think regimental commanders, like always, are officers who are highly trained both militarily and politically, combining lasting habits of organizing combat, the study process, and economic activity with habits of educational work in all its aspects. In other words, they are officers capable of applying the one-man command principle on a party basis.

But it must also be noted that modern regiments, regardless of the branch or category of the Armed Forces to which they belong, are considerably different from regiments in even the recent past in terms of their organization, their equipment, and the nature of the tasks they perform. A modern regiment has a much broader range of specialized functions. There have also been changes in the functions of soldiers, sergeants, ensigns, and officers. All this has had a substantial effect on the organization of regiments, and the regiment's combat organization as a military organism. For example, the commander of a motorized rifle regiment must possess, in addition to thorough knowledge of arms and combat equipment, firm habits in the use of motorized rifle, tank, and artillery subunits, air defense subunits, and specialized troops in various types of combat. This requires appropriate tactical, general educational, and general engineering horizons.

There are numerous commanders in the Army and Navy who meet modern demands. They include Heroes of the Soviet Union Lieutenant Colonels R. Aushev and V. Vostrotin, Lt Col Yu. Pakhomov, Lt Col V. Chichko, and many others. Having acquired a proper military tempering and academic education, they successfully command their regiments and enjoy great respect among their subordinates.

It is understandable that it is far from simple for the commander of a regiment or a ship to fully master all his duties. Therefore, in my view it is inappropriate to talk about any time limits being set for them to establish themselves. Much depends on personal qualities, on diligence in service, and on the conditions in which this establishment takes place. Some find that 2 years are sufficient, others need longer. But one thing is clear: Practical work is the best school for a commander's establishment. It is only through the process of service and systematic self-education that an officer's knowledge is accumulated, deepened, and improved, his character is tempered, and his organizational abilities are revealed. Naturally, this does not in any way rule out assistance and concern by senior chiefs and service comrades. The process of officers' professional establishment and accumulation of their service experience occurs, as a rule, more rapidly where commanders and political workers are solicitously nurtured, where there is no superficial approach toward the assessment of their qualities and shortcomings, and where the label of "incompetent" is not hastily tagged on to those who are not successful in everything from the very first.

[Miranovich] The new training year is now under way, the year of the 19th All-Union CPSU Conference and the 70th anniversary of the Soviet Army and Navy. In your opinion, on what should the efforts of commanders, staffs, and political and cadres organs be concentrated, bearing in mind the increased party demands regarding combat readiness and discipline in the Armed Forces, and the stipulations of the military doctrine?

[Sukhorukov] I think that, in the first place, everyone must substantially augment his work. This must be primarily in key sectors and along priority avenues which have been clearly defined. But the main point is the further deepening of restructuring. Including, of course, restructuring the activity of military cadres. Further enhancement of their activeness in and responsibility for fulfilling the decisions of the 27th party congress and subsequent CPSU Central Committee plenums and the USSR defense minister's specific demands regarding the training of troops and naval forces—this is perceived as the paramount task of commanders, staffs, and political and cadres organs.

I have already dwelled on several aspects of its solution. I can add that much work remains to be done, involving the creation of an adequate and reliable pool of cadres and the improvement of the system for their certification and transfer. The category of cadres consisting of combined unit, unit, and ship commanders and their deputies demands great attention. Nor can we rest satisfied with the present state of work with young officers. Unfortunately, there is still much formalism and red tape in this work.

It is necessary to give some thought to ways to increase the efficiency of work with ensigns and warrant officers. The great turnover among this category of cadres indicates that not everything is in order concerning the selection of candidates for promotion to ensigns and warrant officers.

I would also like to mention another very important sector. As you know, people are not born soldiers. And even less so—commanders. People become commanders in a process of strenuous labor, learning the fundamentals of military work, the theory and practice of Soviet military building, questions of the personnel's training and education, combat organization, and so on. As a rule, this process begins in military schools. But quite a few problems have also accumulated here. The professional training of many graduates of our military educational establishments is such that there are no grounds to expect their swift establishment in their posts.

Measures have been planned to improve the work of military education establishments. It is to be assumed that they will help to enhance the efficiency of the study process and the intensification of its practical orientation. Measures are being taken to improve the quality of professional selection among future students, the study and material base of military educational establishments is improving, and opportunities are being sought to supply military educational establishments with highly skilled professors, lecturers, and command-political cadres. In a nutshell, a start has been made. Everything will now depend on how successful we will be in finalizing what we have started.

I would say in conclusion that we have all the opportunities to achieve tangible improvements in work with cadres at the new stage of restructuring. But it is important to ensure that everyone on whom this depends acts with utmost responsibility, boldness, creativity, and competence. This is the kind of work expected from us by the Soviet people and our party who, as the CPSU Central Committee January (1987) Plenum emphasized, are doing everything to strengthen the Army and Navy and are fully entitled to expect that no aggressive forces would be able to catch us unawares.